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Printed by SANDS, DONALDSON, MURRAY, and COCHEAG.
For A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson.

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importance. But as the attention of the mind is not to be the detection on intricate his constant of the line of the language of the cate his constant of the language of th

Mr Hume's History.

composition are particularly considered: Men pronounce upon these according to their different abilities and taske: neither is it

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pinions, and from their favourable or un-

at all times agreeable, so when these friends are men of virtue and learning, mutual improvement will be added to social delight. The last of these is perhaps best promoted by a general uniformity of sentiment; but the first, by such diversity of opinion as is accompanied with candid and calm debate, and prompts them to an accurate investigation of truth. New ideas will be thus suggested; prejudices removed; the subject opened; and what is of most weight, and

may be certainly known, will be distinguished from what is doubtful, and of less importance. But as the attention of the mind is not to be fixed too long on intricate fubjects, fuch conversation is happily diversified with various reflections on this or the other writer, whose sentiments and composition are particularly considered. Men pronounce upon these according to their different abilities and tafte: neither is it easy for them to throw off that bias, which is derived from their own preconceived opinions, and from their favourable or unfavourable thoughts of the main defign which the author appears to have had in there friends are men wirk sid

You will remember, I had lately an opportunity to see all this fully exemplified in that company of your friends, to which you introduced me; where, after an hour or two had been spent in other matters, the merits of a certain history began to be canvassed. The gentleman who spoke first, gave it as his judgment, that Voltaire's manner of writing was the most instructive and

and learning, mutual

and agreeable; that a minute detail of particular incidents was of little fignificancy in history; and as it perplexed the mind, and overloaded the memory to no purpose. so it was impossible for one to keep up the spirit of a narrative, who should write in this tafte: he therefore approved of distinct and comprehensive views of things, interfperfed with lively description, with pertinent reflections, and an exact delineation of characters. This he thought was peculiarly proper, where the fubject of the hiftory was well known; and he was of the mind, upon the whole, that the composition of Mr Hume's history was elegant, the diction generally clear and correct, and the narrative fuccinct and animated an odd

Your other friend, whose turn it was, talked of this author's declining the trouble of inserting any new materials, with which he might have been supplied from many valuable collections published within these few years: he represented the consequence of being thoroughly acquainted with the history of our own country, and mentioned A 2 impartiality

of the authoris indecent excursions on the

impartiality and a fcrupulous regard to triuth, as effential to the character of a good historian : thefe, he faid, would determine him to give a fair representation of facts, and would equally reftrain from ill-grounded flattery, and unjust reproach. Having given his opinion of Mr Hume's history in this light, which was not a little unfavourable, he proceeded to diftinguish betwixt history, and memoir writing; and to speak of his flyle, with which in the main he was pleafed; adding withal, that, fo far as he could perceive, the chief merit of the history must be rested there. At any rate, he hoped, withat, corrupted as is the age wherein we live, there would be but a few who would effect this history on account of the author's indecent excursions on the fubject of religion, the genius of the Protestant faith, and the characters of the first reformers. He concluded with a warmth of expression, that seemed to slow from an honest and pious heart, affectionately concerned for the important interests of reof being theroughly acquainted withoigif

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It gave me pleasure to observe, that his animaliversions on this last point were approved; the justness of which, I took occasion to say, might be apparent to all, who would attentively peruse but a few passages of the history; on which I at that time offered several remarks, together with some reflections on the political sentiments of the historian. These you afterwards asked me to put in order; you obtained my promise; and I now sit down to discharge the obligation. The two passages to which I chiefly referred, are to be found in the 8th and 26th pages. In the first of these we read what follows.

The first reformers, who made such furious and successful attacks on the Romain superstition, and shook it to its lowest foundations, may fafely be promounced to have been universally inflamed with the highest enthusiasm. These two species of religion, the superstitious and fanatical, stand in diametrical opposition to each other; and a large portion of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the latter must necessarily fall in the superstition of the superstitution in the superstitution of the superstitution in the superstitu

" to his share, who is so courageous as to "controul authority, and fo affirming as to " obtrude his own innovations upon the world. Hence that rage of dispute. " which every where feized the new reli-" gionists; that disdain of ecclesiastical sub-" jection; that contempt of ceremonies, " and of all the exterior pomp and splendor " of worship. And hence too that inflexi-" ble intrepidity with which they braved " dangers, torments, and even death it-" felf; while they preached the doctrine " of peace, and carried the tumults of war " through every part of Christendom. " However obstinate and uncomplying this " species of religion, it necessarily received forme alteration, according to the differ-" ent fituation of civil affairs, and the different species of government which it " met with in its progress. In the elector-" ates of Germany, in Denmark, and in " Sweden, where the monarch was early " converted, and, by putting himself at the " head of the reformers, acquired authori-" ty amongst them; as the spirit of enthu-" fiasm was somewhat tempered by a sense " of OJ 23

"of order, episcopal jurisdiction, along with a few decent ceremonies, was pre"ferved in the new establishment. In
"Switzerland and Geneva, which were po"pular governments; in France, Scotland,
"and the Low Countries, where the peo"ple reformed themselves in opposition
"to the prince; the genius of fanaticism
"displayed itself in its full extent, and af"fected every circumstance of discipline
"and worship," &c.

THE other passage relating to the same subject, is in the 25th and 26th pages; in which this author delivers his sentiments with great formality.

"HERE it may not be improper," fays he, "in a few words, to give some ac"count of the Roman-Catholic religion, its
"genius and spirit. History addresses itself
to a more distant posterity than will ever
be reached by any local or temporary the"ology; and the characters of sects may
be studied, when their controversies shall
be totally forgotten. Before the refor"mation,

" mation, all men of fense and virtue wished impatiently for fome event, which might repress the exorbitant power of the st clergy all over Europe, and put an end " to the unbounded usurpations and pre-" tensions of the Roman Pontiff: but when " the doctrine of Luther was promulgated, " they were formewhat alarmed at the " sharpness of the remedy; and it was ea-" fily foreseen, from the offensive zeal of " the reformers, and the defensive of the " church, that all Christendom must be "thrown into combustion. In the pre-"ceding state of ignorance and tranquillity " into which mankind were lulled, the at-" tachment to superstition, though without " referve, was not extreme; and, like the-" ancient Pagan idolatry, the popular religion confifted more of exterior practices " and observances, than of any principles, " which either took possession of the heart; " or influenced the conduct. It might "have been hoped, that learning and " knowledge, as of old in Greece; fleating in gradually, would have opened the eyes " of men, and corrected fuch of the eccle-" mation. " fiaffical

" fiaftical abuses, as were the groffest and "most burthensome il Itahad been obser-" vodjethat, upon the revival of letters, "very generous and enlarged fentiments " of religion prevailed throughout all Italy; " and that, during the reign of Loo, the court of Rome itself in initiation of "their illustrious prince, had not been "wanting in a just sense of freedom But " when the enraged and fanatical reform "ers took arms against the papal hitrary "chy, and threatened to rend from the "church at lonce all her riches and authou "rity; no wonder the was animated with equal zeak and ardor, in defence of fuch ancient land sinvaluable possessionAt Withe fame time that the semployed the "flake and gibbet against her avoweds e-"nemies, he extended her jealousy even untowards learning and philosophy, whom, in her supine security, she had formerly "overlooked as charmless and inoffensive." " Hence the fevere check which know. "IEdge received in Italy; hence its total extinction in Spain; and hence the flow " progress which it made in France, Ger-" many, " many, and England. From the admiration of ancient literature, from the in-" quiry after new discoveries, the minds of " the studious were every where turned " to polemical science; and, in all schools " and academies, the furious controversies " of theology took place of the calm dif-" quifitions of learning. Mean while the " rage of dispute and the violence of op-" position rivetted men more strongly in " all their various delufions, and infected " every intercourse of fociety with their " malignant influence. The Roman Pon-" tiff, not armed with temporal force fuffi-"cient for his defence, was obliged to " point anew all his spiritual artillery, and " to propagate the doctrine of rebellion, " and even of affaffination, in order to fub-"due or terrify his enemies. Priests jea-" lous and provoked, timorous and uncon-" trouled, directed all the councils of that " fect, and gave rife to fuch events as " feem aftonishing amid the mildness and " humanity of modern manners. The " maffacre of Paris, that of Ireland, the " murder of the two Henrys of France, " the .VIIBRII -

"the gunpowder-conspiracy in England,
are memorable, though temporary inflances of the bigotry of that superstition. And the dreadful tribunal of the
inquisition, that utmost instance of human depravity, is a durable monument
to instruct us, what a pitch iniquity
and cruelty may rise to, when covered
with the sacred mantle of religion."

thall have any refemblance of their force

THESE, my friend, are the two passages on which, at your defire, I am to bestow some remarks. If there is found in them a peculiar and extravagant train of thought, it needs be no great furprise to those who are acquainted with some other writings of this extraordinary author. He feems willing to inform us, that his fentiments and expressions have been fully weighed, as this laboured description of the genius of Popery, and the spirit of the reformation, is, in effect, addressed to a distant posterity. Distant indeed they must be, whom no knowledge of the capital articles of diffinetion betwixt the Popish and Protestant churches shall be able to reach; and who are to be wholly indebted for their influction to those short sketches, which are prefented in this or the like history, that is intended to outlive the wreck of ages. A more full delineation perhaps might be expected from those writers of eminent merit, who are animated by fuch pleafing prospects; as they may well conclude, that if this distant posterity, of which we speak, shall have any resemblance of their forefathers, in the features of the mind, their curiofity, and thirst of knowledge will be but flightly gratified by these general defcriptions and fuccinct memoirs. But are they at least just and unexceptionable, fo far as they go? or, if there are mistakes, are they but of a trivial nature, not at all affecting the main subject, and so inconsiderable as not to deserve a particular regard? Hardly will any one pronounce fo, I think, even at first reading.

WAVING, at present, some general reflections on this subject, I would proceed to observe, that the distinction which he establishes betwixt the genius of the Roman-Catholic,

in selfect, addressed to a distant poperity.

Catholic, and that of the Protestant religion, is a leading idea, which runs through all his speculations, or rather, it is the idea upon which they are all founded. Superstition, we are told, is the characteristic of the former, and fanaticism or enthusiasm of the latter. In his account also, "these "two species of religion, the superstitious "and fanatical, stand in diametrical opposition to each other."

by our author, year in the affixed to the

THE forms and degrees of superflition may be infinitely varied. Among the Heathens their desordamona included in it a fel cret dread of invilible powers, in confequence of their wretched fentiments concerning the objects of their false worthip; by which fentiments they were led into all that medley of infignificant, abfurd, and very oft barbarous rites, which made up fo great a part of their established religion. In general, mean and unworthy notions of God, and of that fervice which is acceptable to him, feem to be the fource of all fuperstition. Hence its irrational fears and perplexities of mind, which may be further ftrengthened.

strengthened by disease and melancholy; bence its various devices in order to conciliate the favour of an offended Deity; and hence too its extreme regard to certain rites of worthip, to prescribed austerities, or to whatever fervices are deemed conducive to this great purpose of divine forgiveness and acceptance, promise to solved out "

" and fanatical. (land in diametrical one."

THAT this character of superstition is, by our author, very justly affixed to the Roman-Catholic religion, I shall readily admit; and would only further remind you of the nature of that superstition, and of its diffusive influence through the whole Popish fystem. It is indeed to be plainly discerned in the general plan of their religious worthip, which is so highly solicitous about the external garb of devotion, and has fo much incumbered the service of the sanctuary; particularly in some of its most solemn acts. Hence an air of empty pageantry is spread over them, while the attention is withdrawn from the ideas and fentiments of a rational and manly piety. But this is not all: it is further affirmed by Protestants, that

firengthehed

that this superstition of theirs wears an idolatrous form; and that this is discovered in the worthip of God by images, in the worthip of the hoft in the facrament, of the virgin Mary, of faints and angels; and in the adoring and burning incense before their images. It is added, you know, that as all this bears a near refemblance to Pagan idolatry and fuperstition, fo the plea which the doctors of that church would urge in their own defence is exactly fimilar to those distinctions, and that method · of reasoning, by which the ancient idolatry was defended by some of its zealous votaries. and a michty freels is faid on the forms of

Is not the fame refemblance to be further traced in most of their public rites? Do but reflect, for instance, on all the apparatus of facred vestments, -on their folemn processions, and carrying about with them the images of their faints, on the annual festivals set apart for their honour, on the abfurd defign, and glaring pomp of their canonization; do but think of the exorcifms, lustrations, confectations of water, oil, bells, lights, and the rest, which are fo -private

fo well known in that church and must not the ancient sabries of Gentile superstill tion become diately presented to your mind; and the persect similatude strike at the first views

the adoring and burning inconferbiglies THE general tenets of superstition too will ever have a baleful influence on life and morals. False notions of religion contract and pervert the understanding; a wrong bias is fixed upon the mind; what is of no real worth is too often substituted in the room of what is intrinsically good; a fense of moral obligations is weakened; and a mighty stress is laid on the forms of religion, and on certain external acts of obedience, as in themselves of great imports ance, inay, perhaps, as highly meritorious in the fight of God. And may not this spirit be discovered in too many doctrines of the Popish church? Must it not evident ly appear to every one, who takes a comprehensive view of their established tenets concerning the effect of the mere outward participation of the facraments, -concerning injoined penances, or voluntary aufterities, -private

-private malles, -indulgences, -auricular confession, and the consequent absolution; -concerning diffinction of meats, -frequent repetition of prayers, which most of them do not understand, pilgrimages to this or the other celebrated shrine or image of some eminent faint? Are not their doctrines on these and the like subjects of the most unhappy influence on vital religion and Christian morals; on purity of heart and manners? Do they not tend to excite a facred regard to what is either quite foreign to religion, or of no great value in it; to what is only a corruption of it, and is perhaps inconfiftent with its clearest and . most falutary precepts? And are they not apt to miflead the submiffive and credulous devotee, and to encourage that delufive trust in things of little or no consequence, which numbers of mankind are to ready to entertain? The model in the model in the

This now is the full fway of superstition.

Thus does its genius exert itself in the Popish plan and by these means has true Christianity been dissigured, its genuine C tendency

tendency mifunderstood or neglected, its amiable doctrines debased, its pure precepts perverted, and its worship in spirit and in truth most shamefully obscured. When we speak of the superstition of the Roman church, let this complete view of it be present to our thoughts. Then, indeed, shall we have other sentiments concerning it, than if we had only the idea of a multiplicity of outward rites, and of any pomp and pageantry of worship whatsoever.

It is admitted, then, that superstition is the distinguishing characteristic of that church; and it is affirmed withal, that it is a superstition of the worst kind. Neither shall it be contested by me, that they are its truest sons, who receive all its dictates in humble reverence, and comply with its injunctions in the spirit of bigotry and awful submission.

a faired regard to what is righter controlle-

But is it also to be granted, that "these "two species of religion, the superstitious "and fanatical, stand in diametrical op"position to each other?" Our author is positive.

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positive on this head: but as he is no great dogmatist in most things, perhaps it might have been as well not to have shewn himself so peremptory bere.

fema, of the asylikation, and of the more

THE effence of enthufialm or fanaticism feems to lie in the strong delusion of an over-heated imagination, which prompts to wild excess in what respects the principles and practice of religion. The weak mind, fo deluded, flatters itself with the conceit of extraordinary illumination, and of its having an immediate intercourse with heaven. Pride, ignorance, and blind zeal, are mingled in the character. If these meet with a morose temper, we have the idea of a fullen and obstinate fanatic; if with a quite different disposition, we have that of a lively and bold enthusiast. This irregular principle must, of course, afford but an uniteady direction; and be also naturally productive of extravagant effects, as in all its operations it disclaims an alliance with reason; and disdains a subjection to her conclusions. Accordingly, we have heard of the high conceits of some, who talk of an internal light, as the guide of their conduct, very different from the light of reafon and the word of God :-- we have heard of the dark and unintelligible jargon of some of the mystic tribe, and of the more elevated pretentions of others to extraordinary visions, rapturous celtafies, and prophetic dreams And what is the reverse of this fpirit, and of these wild excursions? What other than fober and just fentiments of things; than the habit of a pious and well-regulated mind, properly influenced by the wife and worthy principles of true religion? In thefe, my friend, there is a native truth, an excellence and dignity, however they may be debased by superstition on the one hand, or difgraced by fanaticism on the other. Unhappy they (if there are any fuch) who would blend them all together in one promiscuous ruin. The wife and good must abhor the impious defign. Even a fober Heathen has recommended to us *, " fo to fly from superstiradius and diblains a fubication to her

concludings. Accordingly, we have I

[?] Φευκτίου οὖν αὐτὴν ἀσφαλως τε χ συμφερόνλως, δυχ ὅσπερ δι ληςῶν ἢ Ͻηρίων ἔφοδου, ἢ πῦρ ἀπερισκέπλως χ ἀλογίςως περιφεύγουλες ἐμπίπλυσιν εἰς ἀνοδίας

" tion, as not to fall into the opposite ex-"treme of Athelim, while we overlook " true picty, that is feated between them?" The ferife is plain and strong, and the caution of no small importance in every age. tual affillance to each other, IcAll this I can

Bur our author states a diametrical oppolition betwixt superstition and fanaticisms for what purpose, he best knows; but with what reason, let us now inquire. These two species of religion (to use his style) are evidently diffinct the one from the other; but they do not appear to me to be " dia-"metrically opposite" a can perceive no abfurdity in supposing, that one may embrace the tenets, and practife the rites of fuperstition, who notwithstanding may be possessed of no inconsiderable portion of the fanatical spirit. Nay, I can easily imagine a plan of religion, which, hin some of its doctrines and institutions, may be extremely favourable to fuperfittion; in lothers again, to fanaticism. What is still Aurea Lighede, as it is called; and in the

Sias BapaSpa & upnerous i xuoas ouras yap ivios proportes the contains. νίαν, εμπίπθυσιν είς άθεότητα τραχείαν & άντίτυπον, ψπερπηδήσαντες εν μίσφ zu wing riv ivoiseav. Plutarch. wipi Suridayu. thority.

more.

more, I do not see why this latter may not prompt one, in many inftances, to a compliance with the dictates of the former: fo that instead of enmity and diametrical opposition, they may very often afford mu tual affistance to each other. All this I can eafily suppose; and account it no difficult matter to explain. But, instead of entering into abstract reasoning, give me leave to confirm what I have now faid by a palpable proof, with which we are furnished by the present subject. For is it not true in fact, that this same superstitious Roman-Catholic church is not a little celebrated for its fanaticism? -- that in various ways it has given encouragement and support to this principle, and its operations?-and that fome of its most superstitious bigots have been justly ranked in the number of the most illustrious fanatics? lor in mile a soin

For ascertaining this last point, we are provided with very ample materials in the Aurea Legenda, as it is called, and in the voluminous records of the Asta Sanstorum, published with all the proper marks of authority.

were

thority. But, without prejudice to the cause, one may safely confine himself to the lives of some of their most distinguished faints, and in particular of those who founded their religious orders. As you are not unacquainted with this biography, I appeal to you, and in like manner to every one who has looked into those books. whether there are not, in the lives and characters of these saints of theirs, perfect examples and exhibitions of the fanatical fpirit, in all its forms of extravagance, from the most childish and filliest reveries of a difordered fancy, to its elevated conceits of inspiration, of peculiar intercourse with heaven, faints, and angels, -and of ecftatic visions, and prophetic illumination. To give particular instances under each of these heads, were to go about to confirm what no body will contest. And yet some of these very persons, as St Francis, Dominic, and Ignatius, are known to have been the most determined bigots, the most zealous devotees to the superstition of the Roman church in all its branches, and to have exerted all their power in its support. These

were the men who promoted the measures of violence and cruelty against all, who, in their times, presumed to differ in their sentiments and practice from established doctrines and rites. One of them is infamouf ly diftinguished by his scheme for erecting the court of inquisition, and by having its dreadful power committed to him and his affociates: (and with their fucceffors it remains to this day). Another is the founder of an order, whose disciples have done infinite mischief to human society; and whose barbarous and sanguinary zeal is as well known, as are their schemes of diffolute morals, and their shocking maxims of wicked policy: claims has samed movement visions, and prophese illumination.

But fools and fanatics, you will fay, may start up every where. Doubtless they may; and if their fanaticism is disapproved and checked by that church of whose profession they are, surely no reproach ought to be derived to it, on their account. Thus all reasonable men will judge. But what if peculiar marks of respect are bestowed upon them by the church of which they

are members?—if credit is given to their pretended revelations, a fanctity supposed to belong to their character, and the utmost descrence he shewn to their opinions and dictates?—if their examples are, by the public authority of the church; recommended to imitation, and their names transmitted with honour to posterity? By all this, one would think a pretty full fanction were given to their delusions, and to the spirit with which they were animated.

vertion: the refusing and which they

institutions of the monastic life, which has been so favoured by the church of Rome, in every age. What high encomiums of that state, and of the manner of devotion that is practised in it? Has not the idea of spiritual perfection been annexed to it, and the title of religious, in an appropriated sense, conferred on those who embrace it, as though they only merited the appellation? With what various colouring has it been set off, that it might suit different views and tempers, and that the number of votaries

taries to the monastic state might be enlarged? Yet what more proper to cherish a gloomy turn than fuch an absolute retreat from the world? from all its bufiness. enjoyments, and focial intercourse? A total renunciation of these is professed; perhaps it is honeftly intended but nature may foon reclaim against the force that is put upon her, and dejection of spirit become the confequence of a choice that cannot be remedied. The rules that are prescribed to them, the books in which they are conversant, the restraints under which they are laid, abstinence, penances, and other austerities, do fill more strengthen the melancholy habit, and must have great influence in producing a difordered flate of imagination. The peculiar practices of their devotion, and the general patterns of it that are fet before them, in the lives of this and the other eminent faint of their respective orders, are obviously of the same tendency. If their minds receive the tincture, which all these are apt to convey, the fanatical spirit will be strongly imbibed. How much more, if they are well acquaint-137165 ed

ed with the reveries and visions of St Francis and St Dominic, of St Bridget and St Therefa; and if those wonderful tales are believed and affectionately entertained? When fuch a breach is made on the ideas of rational religion, what a flood of vifionary extravagance may rush in upon the human mind? Thus may it be hurried along by every delufion, and retain at length but little force to refift any fanatical impreffions whatfoever: the effects of which may be perhaps mistaken for the evidences of a feraphic devotion, and confidered as marks of the extraordinary favour of heaven. As visions, dreams, and prophecies have been long familiar to their imaginations, they may now, in their turn, lay claim to thefe; and with as good reason also; (to do them justice), as ever those friends of theirs had, who have gone before them in the fame pretentions, more mad analytic strong

SUCH is the nature of the monastic state, which is so zealously supported by the church of Rome; and which yet in its institution, in its rules, and in the manner of life and D 2 devotion

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devotion that is peculiar to it, hath been always fo favourable to fanaticism, and is indeed to naturally productive of it. But has this species of religion banished from the walls of monasteries and numeries, that other which is affirmed to be diametrically opposite to it? Let me rather ask, where else shall we find persons so warmly attached to all the superstitions of that church? There are its most submissive votaries, whom it approves and applauds: thence an air of fanctity is, in the eyes of the vulgar, spread over that religion: and thence too is derived the confirmation of fome favourite and gainful doctrines. From cloyfters and cells have iffued the dreadful tales concerning fouls in purgatory, and their importunate requests to their friends on earth for deliverance. For this purpose, and for the atonement of their own fins alfo, have the superstitious and opulent been prompted to the erection and endowment of religious houses, as a work of eminent merit; while those equally superstitious and less wealthy are directed to the treasures of the church, to the merits of faints, to indulgences and private maffes.

maffes. Thus are the vitals of religion deeply wounded by the combined influence of these two principles, of which we speake: thus funaticism is rendered subservient to the interests of Superstition, and, on many occasions, is made use of to bear up the unwieldy fabric. All the world knows, that popular superstitions have been thus upheld, and that they are fo to this day. Nav. fome of their learned doctors are ready to appeal to the visions of their faints, to voices from heaven, and I know not what; not to mention the tales of cures performed by means of relics. In this manner, and by thefe fubfidiary proofs, do they endeavour to support the adoration of the hoft,-that most profound doctrine from which it is derived,—the whole fystem of the worship of faints and images, and the peculiar excellence of fuch worship at some noted shrine. These and the like are the subjects into which this fort of proof has been admitted: and thus are superstition and fanaticism combined and complicated in the Popish model. - Shall I mention one instance more, that feems to merit our particular notice? But 9979

a little ago I hinted at their giving marks of distinguished respect to several persons, in whom the latter of these principles or species of religion was fignally displayed: but all this is nothing, in comparison of their setting them up as objects of worship, of religious trust and veneration. How amazing! that those who call themselves Christians, should thus transform a spiritual and rational fervice into so perfect a resemblance of the Heathen plan; and that multitudes should co-operate in promoting the delution? The forms of canonization do indeed exhibit a most extraordinary scene. In the steps that are preparatory to it, they shew themfelves well affected towards all that is told or recorded concerning the visions and miracles of the faint; for these are the two main pillars on which the fabric of canonization has ever refted. There is some fort of evidence offered of the truth of those wonderful things: proper application is made to the court of Rome, and to its principal ministers: their consent is obtained: public prayers and processions are appointed: the day is fixed: and at length the de-

cree

Pope himself, in the most solemn manner, according to the authority, which, as he avers, he has received from God *. What solly, or rather what impiety is here?

But it is most to our present purpose to observe, that if one reads the account of the preparatory process, and of the lives of those canonized saints, he will soon perceive, that what relates to visions and revelations, is no inconsiderable part of the subject, and is one of the principal causes that is assigned for this

canonization.

There is now before me a copy of one of those bulls. It is that of the late Pope Clement XI. The words are. "Ad honorem, &c. beatos Pium Quintum Pontificem, An-" dream Avellinum, Felicem a Cantalice confessores, et " Catharinam de Bononia virginem, fanctos et fanctam effe " decernimus, definimus, atque ordinamus, ac fanctorum ca-" talogo nofira divinitus tradita audoritate adferibimus : " flatuentes ac jubentes illorum facratissimam memoriam ab " ecclesia universali quolibet anno die eorum natali, " nempe, &c. fancta ac pia devotione recoli ac adorari de-" bere."- The following prayer too was pronounced by him on this occasion. " Magnificantes, Domine, cle-" mentiam tuam, suppliciter exoramus, ut illorum, quos " hodie nofra divina auctoritate fanctificavimus, prælidio, " nos falves semper ac munias per Christum Dominum no-" ftrum." Such is the style of the prayer and decree. is inculcated by all functions, particular-

canonization. Thus has the spirit of fanaticism been cherished; thus has it been dignified, and confecrated in that church; and in formany different ways have superstition and fanaticism become subservient to each But it is most to our present purpose tands

serve, that if one reads the account of the

MAY I be allowed therefore, upon the whole, vito reject out author's favourite maximi on this head; and to suppose, that what has been now remarked is sufficient to discredit it? The reason of the thing and the plainest facts are against it. After all this it is furth unnecessary to subjoin the fentiments of some ancient and modern writers: but there is one authority of fuch diffinction that I cannot well omit it; an authority that must needs be of the greatest weight with Mr HUME, and with all his admirers:-in one word, it is bis lown. You may judge of it by what I am now to transcribe from the 27th page of his history, in which he gives us a short description of the fuperflition of the Roman system. "The blind fubmission," fays he, "which " is inculcated by all fuperstition, particularcc ly canonization.

" ly by that of the Catholics; the absolute " refignation of all private judgment, reafon, and inquiry; these are dispositions " very advantageous to civil as well as to " ecclefiaftical authority.—The fplendor too and pomp of worship, which that " religion carefully supports, are agreeable " to the tafte of magnificence that prevails " in courts; and form a species of devotion, " which, while it flatters the pampered " fenfes, gives little perplexity to the indo-" lent understandings of the great. That " delicious country where the Roman Pon-" tiff refides, was the fource of all modern " art and refinement, and diffused on its "fuperstition an air of politeness, which distinguishes it from the gross rusticity of the other sects. And though policy " made it assume, in some of its mona-" flic orders, that austere mien which is " acceptable to the vulgar; all authority still " refided in its prelates and spiritual prin-" ces, whose temper, more cultivated and " humanized, inclined them to every de-" cent pleasure and indulgence. Like all " other species of superstition, it rouses the vain

"vain fears of unhappy mortals; but it knows also the secret of allaying these fears, and by exterior rites, ceremonies, and abasements, though sometimes at the expence of morals, it reconciles the penitent to his offended Deity." Elsewhere he speaks of a "superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments."

In this portraiture of Popish superstition, it would seem, he intends to mark its striking seatures. They are, blind submission to civil and ecclesiastical authority; the absolute resignation of all private judgment, reason, and inquiry; splendor and pomp of worship, which gives little perplexity to an indolent understanding;—its rousing vain sears in deluded mortals, and its allaying these by exterior rites and abasements, though sometimes at the expence of morals; to which he adds a superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments.

Now, a plan of religion that is directly opposite to this, will be one, I presume, that prescribes no such blind submission to eccle-siastical

fiastical dictates; that admits and afferts the right of private judgment in all matters of religion; that doth not affect an empty fplendor, and glittering pomp of worship nor injoin a superstitious regard to meats, days; and vestments; that doth not intend. and is not calculated to rouse vain fears in the breafts of men; and knows nothing of the method of allaying them by exterior rites, or any unworthy means whatever, at the expence of morals. I would ask, then, if this plan, and the temper adapted to it, is to be called fanatical? If not, our author's favourite maxim falls to the ground. But if it is so affirmed, I would not chuse further to contest this matter; and would only beg leave to put the affertion into other words, -Light is darkness; and Wisdom is folly. ittelf be millanderflood, or verhaps großly

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wiW is have feen how this author has fail-

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religion; what dock not affect un emot T is admitted to be the mark of a good genius, to reduce a complicated subject to a few plain principles, or to exhibit a just representation of it, in some one striking point of view. But many, we know, are apt to fail in fuch attempts, if they have not measured their own strength, if their minds are warped by ffrong prejudice, if they are extremely fond of new or uncommon fentiments, and adventure to interpose their decisions in matters which they have not deliberately and dispassionately considered. Where-ever this is the case to any confiderable degree, the cause of truth will proportionably fuffer, the fubject itself be misunderstood, or perhaps grossly misrepresented; as the principles, the reafoning, the conclusions concerning it, will take the tincture of those sources from which they flow.

WE have seen how this author has failed in his general and fundamental proposition; tion; and it falls next in our way to confider what he has connected with it. This now is nothing less than a charge of fanaticism against the Protestant profession, and of the highest degree of it against the first reformers. Fanaticism is made the characteristic of that religion, and of those worthy personages who promoted and defended it .- " The Protestant fanaticism, more rapid " in its progress-The Catholic supersti-" tion, as usual, had ranged itself on the " fide of monarchy; the Protestant enthu-" fiaim on that of liberty-The spirit of " enthusiasm-The genius of fanaticism-" The enraged and fanatical reformers-" The more fanatical churches-The first " reformers, who made fuch furious and " fuccessful attacks on the Romish supersti-" tion, and shook it to its lowest founda-" tions, may fafely be pronounced to have " been univerfally inflamed with the high-" eft enthusiasm. These two species of " religion, the superstitious and fanatical, " stand in diametrical opposition to each " other; and a large portion of the latter " must necessarily fall to his share, who is

" fo courageous as to control authority)

" and so affurning as to obtrude his own in-

" novations upon the world *? don a won

cifes against the Protestant preschion, and Such is his uniform tener of expression on this fubject: As to which I may be allowed to observe, that although this intemperate and abusive style had met with no check from any regards to religion itfelf, yet a fense of decorum might have been of some avail to restrain it; -even but a flight confideration of what is due to the public, to the established religion of one's country, and to that numerous and respectable body of men, respectable in every view, who heretofore embraced the Protestant profession of Christianity, and who now adhere to that communion. But fince this polite writer has fo far broke through these restraints, let us now attend to the manner in which the bold accusation is supported. Quid dignum tanto? How is this high and peremptory charge maintained? By repeated and strong affertions;

Tollori le nottor portion de bas ; rodo ? . P. 60. 75. 8. 26. 7.

by a supposed opposition of the fanatical to the superstitious species of religion; and by ascribing several things concerning the reformation to the influence of the former principle, which he feems to think cannot be well accounted for in any other way. This is the fum of the evidence: the last part of which shall be fully confidered in the course of these letters; the other points may be more eafily discussed. As a proportional strength of proof had need to accompany a continued peremptory form of expression, so this might well be expected in the writings of those authors, who shew themselves to be generally well affected to the sceptical species of philosophy. That fuch persons should give way to hasty and prefumptuous conclusions, is furely quite out of character, and not a little inconfiftent with their profession of perfect freedom from prejudice, and with their pretention to the spirit of calm and candid inquiry. But to take things as we find them:

THE argument that is drawn from the opposition of fanaticism and superstition,

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The shares, you fee, is laid age

has been already in part confidered; and what remains may be finished in a few words. It was proved, as I apprehend, inthe former letter, that thele two fpecies of religion are far from being diametrically oppofite: and therefore the application which he would make of this maxim to the reproach of the Protestant cause, must fall of courfe. The principle itself, and the deduction from it, must equally and at once be rejected. It was also observed before, that, in his particular description of Romish superstition, he has unwarily furnished us with a strong argument against his main polition, and in favour of the plan and spirit of Protestantism. But I would not chuse to rest the defence here, in using his own authority against himself. The fubject is of the greatest consequence, and merits the utmost attention of those who bear a due regard to our Christian and Protestant profession. bus miles to find But to take things as we find

THE charge, you see, is laid against the Protestant religion, against the first reformers, and against all the Protestant churches; some

fome of which, however, are treated with a less degree of reproach and infult. Now, if this charge were well founded, we might, mondoubt, expect to meet with firong discoveries of fanaticism in the general tendency of the reformation; in the leading principles, by which it was conducted, and upon which it was supported; in the religious scheme which it introduced; in the characters and conduct of those who were most distinguished by their zeal for its interests; and in the writings and tenets of its avowed friends, in every age. These, as I conceive, are the chief topics, from which the proof, if proof were to be had, should be deduced: and according to the same plan may one proceed in the refutation of the charge that is now before us. wile to be admitted, though in opposition

It is not my intention, to enter into a long detail of particulars relative to the gross corruptions and spiritual tyranny of Popery. To oppose these, you know, was the general purpose of the reformation; to give a check to this tyranny; to remove those corruptions; and to restore the knowledge

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of true Christianity, and its sacred doctrines, as they were delivered by our Lord himself, and by his apostles. Are these, my friend, matters of light concern to one who has the spirit of a Christian, and who wishes well to the greatest and best interests of mankind? Had the question been only concerning a sew speculative points, and some other things of little consequence, there might have been reason to talk of folly and fanaticism; but if the reverse of this is the truth, the grand scope, at least, was wise, good, and honourable.

Was it not, for instance, a question of importance, Whether religious worship was to be offered to the Creator, to God alone? or whether creature-worship was not likewise to be admitted, though in opposition to the pure dictates of reason, and the express prohibition of the divine law? Was it not of consequence to determine, whether Christians were to present their spiritual sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, through the one Mediator betwixt God and man? or whether they were to be directed also to the

the merits and intercession of the Virgin Mary, and of this or the other real or imaginary faint? Was not a matter of the greatest moment included in the question respecting the adoration of the host in the facrament? which idolatrous practice, by the way, is grounded on a doctrine repugnant to common sense and feeling, and had been introduced and propagated in the darkest and most barbarous ages. Does not all the world know to what an amazing excess the worship of faints and images was carried, with all its appendages? to the derogation of the worship due to the true and living God, through Jefus Chrift our Lord; and almost to the extinction of those fentiments and dispositions which animate a pure and rational devotion. Nay, may we not here appeal to the present state of things in Popish countries, particularly in those which are most firmly attached to that communion? The distinctions and apologies that are offered on this subject, are, in truth, of no great weight: at most, they do but reach the men of learning; d to the vulgar they are unknown. Even their public

public forms * are not very favourable to these distinctions, how much soever their doctors may attempt to disguise and conceal the truth.

flort adt do naintalmadifuitmen,

The following prayers are a specimen of their style

"Maria mater gratiz, mater misericordiz, tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe.—Sub tuum przsidium consugunus, sancta Dei genitrix: nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus, sed a periculis cunciis libera nos semper, virgo gloriosa et benedicta."

Ossic. B. V.

"Accipe quod offerimus, redona quod rogamus, excufa quod timemus; quia tu es spes unica peccatorum. Per te speramus veniam delictorum, et in te beatissima no- strorum est expectatio praemiorum. Sancta Maria, suc-

" Quæsumus, ut quam pie veneramur tanti operis institu" tricem, ejus pariter meritis et intercessione a peccatis
" omnibus et captivitate demonis liberemur."

" Misse de

"Deus qui B. Nicolaum Pontificem innumeris decorasti miraculis, tribue, qualumus, ut ejus meritis et precibus a gelienna incendiis liberemur, per Dominum." Brev.

As to the confecration of an image-

Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, clementissima cujus dispositione concla creantur ex nihilo, hanc imaginem, in honorem plissima genitricis Filis tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi venerabiliter adaptatam, benedicere et sanctissicare digneris; et præsta, misoricordissime Pater,—ut quicun-

FURTHERP were they not justly charged with perverting the doctrines of Christianity. in many important inflances; with giving a false and unworthy representation of its spirit and precepts, and weakening the force of religious and moral obligations? while, inflead of the amiable views of divine mercy to guilty creatures in Christ Jesus; instead of the repentance and faith of the gospel, and that fanctity of heart and life which it prescribes and promotes, the minds of men

tom affurnes the form, and claims the re-" que candem misericordiz reginam et grationssimam dominam noltram coram hac effigie suppliciter honorare "Ataducrint, et de inftantibus perioulis eruantur, et in " confpettu divinze majeftatis tuz de commissia et omissis "veniam impetrent, per cundem Dominum."—Postif.

Rom. And with respect to other images,—" Præsta " ut quicunque coram illa ipfum gloriofifimum apostolum "tuum vel martyrem - suppliciter bonorare studuerit, "illius precibus ac obtentu a te gratiam in præfenti, et æter-" nam gloriam obtineat in futurum, per Dominum."-Pontif. Rom.

" Sanctificetur iftud lignum, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et " Spiritus Sancti: et benedictio illius ligni in quo fancta " membra Salvatoris suspensa sunt, sit in isto ligno, ut o-" rantes inclinantesque se propter Deum, ante illam eru-" cem, inveniant corporis et anime fanitatem;" Pontif. Rom.

This is a specimen of the language of their public liturminimizer of the court propounded

were much turned afide to quite different objects, and to a fallacious trust in the merits of faints, in prieftly absolution, penances, pilgrimages, the observation of fasts and festivals, in the repetition of a few Pater nofters and very many Ave Marias, in the veneration of faints and relies, and I know not what other outward observances of a like nature and of equal infignificancy. By thefe means is the mind unhappily deluded, and Christianity debased; whilst an airy phantom assumes the form, and claims the regard that is due to true religion. At best, falutary truths are mingled with noxious errors; and things that are in their own nature infignificant, perhaps irrational and abfurd, are blended with what is in itself effentially good. Every thing of this fort muft needs lofe its virtue, in confequence of the unnatural mixture.

And were not men industriously detained in a state of ignorance? had it not been long so? was not the reading of sacred scripture denied to the laity; while they were taught to receive all that the church propounded

4 Sanciile com iled ligoues, is verige Petris, et Filis, et

propounded and injoined, without helitation, without inquiry? It is but of a piece with the other parts of the abfurd plan, that the public fervice of the church should be in an unknown tongue; unknown indeed to almost all those who joined in that service, and to a great number of those too, who heretofore did, and who, at this day, do prefide in it. Need I speak of their doctrines concerning the factaments, concerning traditions, purgatory, indulgences, the propitiatory facrifice of the mais, &c.? And was not the whole corrupt system imposed in the most arbitrary manner? Supported by ecclefiaftical authority, and by the fuppofed infallibility of popes, or of councils, it is further guarded by awful fanctions and fanguinary laws: bonnique of onit a vynsm exercise of this power, yet they fill conti-

How amazing to think of the progress and strength of that spiritual monarchy, which had been erected in the Christian church? of its unbounded dominion, its numberless oppressions and diffusive devastation? how the foundations of it were laid in the most extraordinary manner, and the superstructure

superstructure reared, by a thousand devices. in faccessive ages he The scheme of power, of wealth and worldly grandeur is unit formly profecuted Nathing is rejected that may tend to its advancement in Corruptions of Christian doctrines of uperstitious fears, lying wonders, a misture of humility and pride of craft and violence in the Roman pontiffs, together with the most refined arts of human policy all are employed, and made subservient to the great purpose that is in view. How pittous the condition of the Christian world under this despotic rule? The different princes and states of Europe had, in their turns, very often felt its deplorable effects; and although, before the æra of the reformation, they had many a time complained of the oppreffive exercise of this power, yet they still continued in subjection to it. But the principles of the reformation had much influence in scattering the mists of ignorance and superstition. How beneficial its tendency in every respect? while it contributes to the interests of religion, and the good of mankind; to the deliverance of Christians from

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a state of slavish submission to an usurped authority, at the same time that it aims at restoring Christianity itself to its original purity and native honours.

Was there not here a cause, a great and noble cause, worthy of the interposition of the wise and good? and were not they who thought it so, and who had reason to conclude, that they might be of service in it, obliged to support it, and to exert themselves in its behalf?—It were easy to prosecute this subject, and to urge the points now mentioned with a convincing evidence; at least, with an evidence, that would be held such by all, who have not thoroughly imbibed the spirit, and who are not friends to the mystery and vassalage of Popery.

But let it suffice to have said thus much concerning it: and let us suppose, that the general purpose of the reformation is admitted, as well it may, to have been unquestionably good and excellent: the next inquiry will be, with relation to the main principles on which it was founded, and according to which it was conducted. How

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are we to think of these? were they irrational? were they wild and irregular? Then indeed would they have been known to be of the enthusiastic kind. But did the first reformers ever speak of any new revelation of the divine will, that had been made to them from heaven? did they lay claim to prophetic inspiration? and, in consequence of such claim, did they mean to impose any doctrines of religion on the credit of their own testimony, and the weight of their own authority? Were these their pretensions? and was this the manner of their address?

In answer to these questions, I appeal to their history, to their writings yet extant, and even to what their enemies have said concerning them. Was it not their avowed principle, That the faith of Christians was to rest on the word of God, and on this alone? and therefore, that any doctrine or practice whatever not so grounded, ought not to be received with religious regard; and if it was condemned by holy writ, that it ought to be rejected, even though long prescription, and the sanction of ecclesiastical authority,

authority, could be pleaded in its behalf; neither of which can stamp a value on error and folly, nor change the internal nature, though they may indeed the outward attire of truth and falsehood. Thus did they proceed in rejecting Popish errors, and in propounding and confirming the opposite truths. They objected; they argued; they drew their conclusions from reason and scripture; they called upon their adversaries to try their doctrines by this test; and they exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to fearch the scriptures, and to be on their guard, against the influence of specious forms, of crafty arts, and timorous superstition. They had themselves shaken off the prejudices that were fo apt to intangle them in the fearch of truth; they led the way to others in the noble path, and incited them to follow their example, and to affert their religious liberties, to which they had a native, an unalienable right, as men Hup as the plea of anti-ensistind bas

To the charge of novelty that was brought against their doctrine, they made G 2 answer,

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answer, That it must appear new to those aione, who were unacquainted with the true doctrine of the gospel, as contained in sacred writ. Novam quod appellant do-" Ctrinam noftram," fays one of the first reformers, in his elegant apology addressed to a great monarch, "Deo funt vehementer "injurii, cujus facrum verbum novitatis infimulari non merebatur. Illis quidem " novam effe minime dubito, quibus et " Christus novus est, et evangelium no-" vum : fed qui Illam Pauli concionem veterem esse noverunt, Jesum Christum mortuum propter peccata hollra, refut-" rexisse propter justificationem nostram, milil apud nos deprehendent novum. Quod diu incognita sepultaque latuit, humanæ impietatis crimen eft : nunc cum Dei benignitate nobis redditur, Talrem postliminii jure suam antiquitatem reciaffert their religious, liberties added raffe had a native, an unalicoable right, as men

BUT as the plea of antiquity was firenuously urged, and the fame of the ancient doctors of the Christian church was loudly founded by those who desended the Popish system;

fystem; to the writings of the primitive fathers also did the reformers make their appeal, (though with a regard in no fort equal to that which they yielded to holy feripture), and to the doctrines and practices of the pureft, that is, of the three first ages of Christianity. They did not decline even this inferior tribunal; well knowing that the Roman-Catholic cause could not be defended before it. Nay, they undertook to prove, that many of those corruptions of which they complained, had not been heard of in the church, during the space of fix or feven hundred years. Some others might be traced backwards to the fifth, or perhaps the fourth century; but what they were at that time, was as much to be diftinguished from what they were become in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as is the imall stream of a river near its source. from its deep and overflowing waters when it is poured into the ocean. I we won at peals to internal light and perception, to

they professed regard, though they denied infallibility. Neither could they perminus her could they perceive any forth of reason for granting it to the papal chair, which had so long, and so arrogantly claimed it. In short, as they were not wanting in a proper respect to antiquity, so they adhered to the word of God, as the perfect rule of Christian faith and practice, according to which all religious doctrines were to be tried, and by whose authority they were to be finally determined. They translated the scriptures into different languages, they earnestly recommended the shidy of them, and they generously afferted the right of private judgment, in the most important of all concerns, Religion.

Is this now, my friend, the manner of fanaticism or enthusiasm? Was it ever known to be directed by such principles as these? Or rather, does it not sly the test of reason, and fail in the reverence that is due to holy writ? whilst in their stead it appeals to internal light and perception, to strong impressions or impulses on the mind, in a word, to something extraordinary and supernatural. Is this the spirit of Protestantism?

testantism? Are these its principles and pretensions? Was this the spirit of the first reformers? and this the plan upon which they acted?—How abfurd, will you fay, to think of it in this manner? Give me leave to add, how abfurd therefore is it to affix the general character of enthulialts and fanatics to those, who, upon the slightest attention, must be fully and at once acquitted as to the effential part of this charge? and how much more abfurd to speak of this irrational principle, as the spirit of that profession of religion, which is so rationally grounded, and which, according to its original constitution, ought ever to maintain a friendly regard to the freedom of inquiry and the rights of confcience, these capital articles in the Protestant scheme? of the reformation would have been fur-

THE matter, as I apprehend, will not bear a dispute; and therefore I shall go on to observe, that, after having said so much of the general design of the reformation, and its leading principles, it is not surely necessary to enter upon the particular consideration of the doctrines of Protestantism,

as they fland diffinguished from the Roman fystem. In the former, the manifold corruptions of religion that had been introduced into the latter are rejected, in order to the restoring the knowledge of the genuine truths of Christianity, I have nothing to do at present with the differences of opinion; in relation to points of less import, that arose among the first reformers; and shall only fay, that it is pity they thould have fuffered those differences to be inflamed by an honest, but mistaken zeal, which might have been at first in a great measure composed by the prudence, learning, and temper of a Bucer and Melancthon. The union of Christian affection, notwithstanding these, might well have been. maintained; and in this manner, the interests of the reformation would have been further promoted and ftrengthened. But it is to the purpose of our present argument to take notice, that in vain are the marks of fanaticism sought after, in the peculiar diftinguishing tenets of the Protestant faith. No vertiges of it are to be discovered there; unless perhaps by those persons who may

be so extremely sagacious, as to discern them in every thing that is opposite to approved superstition and established error. They indeed may sapely that they perceive them, where notone besides could possibly expect to find them amages good need bad one bedroods visites from a bad and bas

Bur if not in the doctrines of the Protestant persuasion, perhaps they are to be met with in the scheme of religious worship introduced by the reformation Let us remark the most effential points on this subject. Public fervice had been long performed in an unknown tongue; the reformers rejected the practice; and the plainest dictates of reason condemn it. A number of rites had entered into divine worship, and a variety of ornaments had been affected? the first reformers were generally of opinion, that a great part of these ought to be removed, as fuperstitious, and by no means conducive to the interests of true plety; or rather, as plainly obstructive of the worthip of the heart and understanding. And in this matter of retrenching rites and ornaments, fome of them went further rated H

than the rest.—But with respect to the worship of saints and images, and all its ceremonies and decorations, there was no sort of difference in opinion amongst them. This kind of religion, if it merits the name, had been long recommended to the world; and long had it almost entirely absorbed the devotion of the vulgar: but as it was irrational in its own nature, and directly contrary to the divine law, it was unanimously and strongly condemned by all who joined in the reformation. And in consequence of this rejection of it, there was a new sace of things every where, in the worship of the Protestant churches.

What now remained after the removal of those various corruptions, which had gone on from bad to worse, for a course of ages? What other than the pure and simple plan of Christian worship? the worship of the true God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, and outward acts of worship offered up in a becoming manner, and animated by internal piety; without which all external services, however costly and decorated,

rated, are but as the founding brafs and tinkling cymbal. Thefe are the fentiments which the first reformers warmly inculcated on Christians; and which ought ever to be in their eye, in all their devotions, whether they confine themselves to some stated forms, whether they add to thefe, or whether they express their pious thoughts and defires in other words, and with a peculiar respect to the language of holy writ. And an acquaintance with the scriptures, it may be observed by the way, is to be affiduously cultivated in an especial manner, by all those who are not injoined the reading of established forms of prayer in their facred ministrations; that they may be the better qualified for the right difcharge of an important part of their duty, as the public ministers of religion. But whether we may approve of the one or the other scheme; of that which would confine public worship to the regular use of stated forms, or of that other, which would go no further than a general directory, and a recommendation of uleful patterns of devotion, above all, of those in facred bonisinism fcripture; H 2

scripture; this, I say, is not the question at present. The question is concerning Protestants in general, and their sentiments with regard to religious worlhip, in oppofition to the depraved scheme of the Roman church. As to effential articles, there was an uniformity of judgment amongst the first reformers; how much foever they might differ in their opinions about some things of less consequence. And were not the doctrines in which they perfectly agreed, most important, and most excellent? were they not grounded on the nature of Christian worship, and on the plainest truths of the word of God?-They were apparently fo grounded; and, I truft, will still remain firm and unshaken, notwithstanding the unwearied and combined efforts of superstition and irreligion.

Before concluding this letter, I shall just remind you of what has been already hinted at before, namely, that the genius of any particular profession of religion, will, in one degree or other, discover itself in the writings of its avowed friends, who have all along maintained

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maintained its principles and interests. It is impossible that it should be otherwise: and I add, how paradoxical would it be for any one to affirm, that the works of a Chillingworth and a Tillotion are marked with the character of enthuliafin? If the scheme of the Protestant religion, which they fo zealously defended, had been liable to this imputation, the enthufiaftic spirit or principle must not only have left its perceptible traces, but have impressed a manifest signature on their writings: a fignature this, however, that hitherto hath not been visible, and, I suppose, will never hereafter become fo, in the writings of these great men, or in the works of those authors, who, fince the ara of the reformation, have been engaged in its defence. To aboids this ho-

I have done, Sir, with what I proposed to remark on this subject, in relation to the genius or spirit of the Protestant religion. We have considered it as it is exhibited in the general tendency of the reformation; in the great principles on which it was established; in the peculiar distinguishing doctrines

means their native grade that fuffre may be

trines of the Protestant faith; in its plan of religious worthing and fomething too has been now faid relative to the writings of its avowed and zealous friends. Upon the whole, then, the falfity, the folly of the charge of enthufiafm or fanaticism is, I think, abundantly evident. The true genius of the Protestant religion is as much to be diffinguished from that wretched principle and spirit, as knowledge from ignorance, truth from error, wifdom from wild extravagance, and as what is great, and good, and worthy, is to be diftinguished from what is mean, hurtful, and contemptible Dark colours indeed may be thrown over the fairest objects, or they may be presented to our view in a false light, and be likewise blended with objects of deformity; by which means their native grace and luftre may be fullied or impaired: but an attentive eye will foon perceive the deviation from truth and nature, which proceeds either from groß mistake, or from unworthy artifice. Thus also it is with respect to the objects of the understanding, and to the intellectual eye, which beholds and judges concerning them. trines

them. And whosoever, my friend, has a right fense of God and religion, must be solicitous to know the truth; and to guard against those deceptions, which may be of dangerous consequence to his truest and best interests, But they who have no such sense, may roam at large, and talk of those truths and objects with light indifference, which others, taught by the puteft reason, and by heavenly wisdom, are disposed to consider with reverend regard. May thefe benign and falutary dictates be ever rightly attended to by us. Their importance, their excellence is best known to those who feel their amiable influence on their hearts and tion. It appears also to be not a standam generous, to exaggerate every failing; and to heighten every harfin feature, as it is hei-ther just nor capdid to alignine or distigure what is good and amiables of On forne occaflons this author well knows how to give the most favourable representation of things, and no admir every fort of apoldgy even for greateds, and the most culpable attions. Neither is this excels of mildhele confined to the meleadminiferation of princes : it

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Lit. III Mahunt's History.

To is true indeed, as you well affirm, that not one article of the Protestant faith can be affected by what concerns the temper and conduct of the first reformers: and I fully affent to what you add that, notwithstanding this, they who bear a fino cere regard to the Protestant religion, must be fentibly affected when they fee their characters traduced and vilified. Belides, there is fornething due to injured worth, and to violated truth; and the friends of truth and virtue will never be intentible to the obligation. It appears also to be not a little ungenerous, to exaggerate every failing, and to heighten every harsh feature; as it is neither just nor candid to disguise or disfigure what is good and amiable. On some occafions this author well knows how to give the most favourable representation of things, and to admit every fort of apology even for groß defects, and the most culpable actions. Neither is this excess of mildness confined to the maleadministration of princes: it reaches

reaches now and then to the conduct of bigots, in particular to those devoted to the
Roman superstition, and in some measure
even to their acts of violence in its support.

Bur the first reformers are treated in a manner entirely different; may, in a manner, I am forry to fay, that is by no means agreeable to the dictates of truth and candor: We have feen how they are charace terifed as enthufiafts in the highest degree; as fanatics, and as fanatics of the worst' kind, furious and enraged: and to this difgraceful principle of enthusiasm or fanaticifm their whole conduct is afcribed! "Hence that rage of dispute which every "where seized the new religionists; that' " disdain of ecclesiastical subjection; that " contempt of ceremonies, and of all " the exterior pomp and splendor of wor-" ship. And hence too, that inflexible in-"trepidity, with which they braved dan-" gers, torments, and even death itfelf; " while they preached the doctrine of peace," "and carried the tumults of war through " every part of Christendom." The very fuch

first deduction in this paragraph does not appear to be rightly formed; fince a fanatic, I suppose, is rather inclined to peremptory dictating, than to an eagerness of reafoning and dispute. But be this as it will, whatever is included in this fame rage of difpute, feems to belong in an equal degree, according to our author's own account, to the character that he has stated in opposition to fanaticism: for of the superstitious Roman Catholics he fays, "No wonder the " church was animated with equal zeal and " ardor, in defence of their ancient and in-"valuable poffessions." And he adds a little below, "Mean while the rage of dif-" pute, and the violence of opposition, ri-" vetted men more strongly in all their va-"arious delufions." Isolifacione la nisblib."

A disdain of ecclesiastical subjection" is the next mark of fanaticism. That the first reformers would not yield obedience to the rulers of the Popish church, is confessed; and that they withdrew from their subjection, or, if this author pleases, that they disdained it. And does not be himself disdain such

fuch subjection ? I dare say, that he reckons it mean and fordid: and yet that he never once suspected himself liable to the charge of fanaticism on that account. A flavish subjection to the dictates of men in matters of religion, is, in truth, wholly inconfistent with the spirit of Protestantism: but is it not equally for with the principles of the clearest reason, and with the natural rights of mankind? How ridiculous the proposition,-To refuse such blind and implicit fubmiffion, is a characteriftical mark of fanaticism? I leave it with you to determine, whether this proposition is not here in effect affirmed by this authorities and vel thutial, as well as by the wife and wor-

ILL must it fare with the reformers, if they are to be judged by fuch a rule; and very hard it is, if they could not declare against the service in an unknown tongue, and against the multiplicity of rites and decorations which had been introduced into public worship, without being chargeable with pure fanaticism. i vissorosamus kinsw

INTREPIDITY of spirit is the concluding important article I 2

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Such is the evidence contained in that

wards more properly in our way, and him-

dender to support the weighty charge that is brought against the first reformers. But not to rest in these general strictures, let us proceed a little surther in this subject, and take a short view of their character and conduct.

Zuinglius, for inflance, we may perceive

Even their enemies found themselves obliged to admit, that they were men of good endowments, and of uncommon crudition. Some of them were justly rackoned amongst the first gamuses and scholars of the age in which they lived. in They let themselves against the reigning barbarity of foholaftic learning, and contributed largely to the introduction and advancement of ancient literature. at In their writings they foon discovered a strength of genius, a skill in the learned languages, han acquaintance with the holy feriptures, and a knowledge of Heathen and Christian antiquity, greatly above the rate of those who were accounted eminent doctors in the Roman church: and in some of their compositions, about which most care was employed, a purity and elegance of style were to be difcerned. natical

70 LETTERS on Let. III.

cerned, together with a manly and perspicuous manner of reasoning, little known to those times: and or thin and finings signored ord sured generalist large general, in flor or

In their natural tempers there was obviously a great disparity. In Luther and Zuinglius, for instance, we may perceive a more active and intrepld spirit than belonged to their worthy friends Occolompadius and Bucer, to Calvin, Peter Martyr, and the mild Melancthon. Some of them were of a fevere, withers of a lively turn. As to their moral character, withis not enough to fay that it was irreproachable: their lives were holy and exemplary: they felt the influence of religion; and they acted according to its dictates! Being powerfully animated by the faith and hope of Christians, they studied to live up to their facred obligations, and to approve themselves to God alling hand and all to

AGAIN, let it be remembered, that vifions, revelations, and the pretention of immediate inspiration, are the highest degree of enthusiasm, the very summit of fanatical

It above the rate of diofe who whetace

natical phrenzy. Say, my friend, were fuch things ever heard of amongst the first reformers? Their works are open to our inspection: is there any thing of this kind to be found in them? Did they not firenuously oppose and refute the wild and destructive principles of the enthusiastic feet which arose in Germany, and which was indeed the difgrace of the Protestant name? And yet they must be charged with enthusiasm, even in its bigbest degree. It was observed in the preceding letter, that fanaticism flies the test of reason, and fails in the regard due to holy writ; while it appeals from them to internal light and perception, to ftrong imprefions or impulses on the mind, to fomething extraordinary and supernatural: add to this what has been now hinted at concerning its bighest degree; and let the matter be rested here. Has this author any where shewn, or will he undertake to shew, that the first reformers fo pretended, and fo appealed? If not, why is this character, to the exclufion indeed of every other, affixed to those persons, to whom, in its distinctive and esfential

fential parts it is no wife applicable? And if not applicable in its effential part, how abfund to fpeak of it in its bightff degree ? 10101

inspection: is there any thing of this kind

But you will fay, was there nothing intemperate in their zeal, nothing irregular in the manner of their profecuting the great ends they had in view? Who ever affirmed that there was not? They were men; confequently neither infallible nor impeccable. But then, my friend, intemperate zeal is not enthufiafm. They are no less distinct than effect and cause. Neither does the effect here follow necessarily from the cause; for we have many a time heard of barmless enthusiasts: nor is it an effect of this cause alone, as it may be at least equally derived from credulous and blind bigotry. Nay, I will venture to affirm, that furious and desolating zeal hath been found in alliance with the superstitious principle more frequently than with the enthusiastic one; and that its ravages, when thus allied, have been more deplorable and dreadful other lubband based and

perfections, to whold, in its diffinctive and ef-(ential

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LET us now therefore dismiss these two conjuring terms, Enthusiasm and Fanaticism, which are so familiar to this historian, and with the help of which he has thought himself able to perform such mighty seats. Suffer me, however, to remark a sew things surther as to the charge of intemperate zeal that is brought against these truly eminent men.

I have already acknowledged, that in this respect they are not blameless. The particular conduct of one amongst them, whose natural temper was the most apt to hurry him into this extreme, shall be confidered by itfelf in a following letter. In general, it must be confessed with regret by the friends of religion, that an indifcreet and excessive zeal has been too often employed to advance its interests. It is pity, fure, that ever it should be so; as this fort of zeal has a tendency to hurt and to difgrace any cause into which it enters. But when one gives evidence of an integrity of heart and purpose, favourable constructions are to be admitted, and the censure of what is amis

Ir ever fuch apology is to be admitted, furely it ought to be admitted in the matter now before us. Grant that the public conduct of the reformers in various in-stances was not unexceptionable; and that their

their zeal was not always rightly directed, nor restrained within due bounds. But let the aufterity of centure be foftened by an attention to the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, to the importance of the end in view, and to their fleady honesty in its pursuit; by an attention to the number and power of their enemies to the deplorable state of religion in the Roman church, to the mighty opposition they had to encounter, and to all that refined policy, that infidious craft and determined violence, which were by turns exerted against them. Amidst all their difficulties they held on their course, trusting in God, and commending themselves to his protection; animated by a good conscience, and by the principles, the prospects and aids of the gospel. For let sceptics and infidels fneer as they will, we can without hefitation affirm, that the divine bleffing rested on them, and on their labours; and that the almighty arm, which upholds the upright and the oppressed, sustained and strengthened them. and si tusto pari floret ai

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IT is well known, that the objections which they raised at first against certain doctrines, that had not then received the full fanction of ecclefiaftical authority, were unanswerably strong. The whole business indeed of indulgences, in itself, and as it was then transacted, was plainly liable to fuch objections. These were published, and calmly submitted to the judgment of the learned. At the fame time, they who had it in their power to redress what was complained of, were properly hipplicated for that effect wInstead of a favourable hearing, menaces are poured out; and the groffest errors are obstinately defended. However, those who had so well begun, perfift, like honest and good men, in shaking off their prejudices, and in cultivating the fludy of the scripture, of Christian antiquity, and the writings of the most approved doctors in the church. What light they derived from thefe was imparted to the world; till at last the errors of Popery were pretty fully detected; its departure, in most important instances, from the genuine doctrines and spirit of our holy religion,

gion, was evidently demonstrated; and the weak, the irrational grounds of its fpiritual dominion were laid open prisof that dominion, which was for abfurdly claimed, and had been to widely extended; and to boldly exercised. If we have a right sense, my friend, of the piteous state of the Christian church, amid all this degeneracy and oppreffion, we must admit, that the cause in which the references were engaged, was of the highest moment, in every respect. But the alarm was foon taken by ignorant bigots, and by those whose interest it was that things (bould remain as they were. They began to be more afraid, when they understood that the doctrines of liberty and truth were liftened to with pleasure and approbation. Various councils are held; different measures are proposed for giving a check to the progress of these doctrines; and for enticing or intimidating those who taught them. By and by anothernatizing bulls are published, imperial edicts are folicited, and the power of spiritual tyranny is put forth with strong effort against all who dared to contest established tenets, and to urge the necessity of a reformation. And were they to renounce, to abjure the truth, that they might escape the danger? to make shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, and to profess a solemn falsehood in the fight of God and man? or elfe, were they to fit down tamely and passively, till they should be dragged to prisons, to tortures, and a cruel death? How shocking to nature the latter choice? and is not the former impious to an high degree? Well therefore might they request the protection of their natural princes, against those cruel defigns which were meditated, and in part executed, by their powerful enemies. The truth was to be vindicated; the corrupted state of the Roman church to be fully represented; the attention of the stupidly inconfiderate to be roused; the writings of their adversaries to be refuted; the prejudices of ignorance and folly to be withstood; and the violence of their enemies to be opposed; of enemies who were ever forward to spread all manner of falsehoods against them, to pronounce them guilty of herefy and blasphemy, and to expose them

and inflamed.

of colouring in the deferrations, all I found

Now, as the great importance of the cause might well allow of an ardor of spirit, and did indeed require it; is it any wonder, if, in fuch difficult and dangerous circumstances, the weakness and perturbation of human passions mingled sometimes with their religious zeal? They did fometimes mingle with it, especially in one of them, who was naturally of a warm temper, who was obliged to pass through a turbulent scene, and against whom the refentment and malice of the enemies of the reformation were chiefly pointed. But furely a candid judge will be ready to make all reasonable allowances in so peculiar a case, Nay, I do not know, whether they may not be entirely acquitted with relation to fome things which have been imputed to an overheated zeal.

For example, my friend, I am free to own, that heretofore, in reading some passages of their writings, concerning the prevailing impiety, and flagitious manners of the court of Rome, I was apt to suspect a height of colouring in the descriptions, till I found that similar accounts were given by men of great character in their own communion *.

" "Fieri potest," says Erasmus, in one of his letters, ut in Germania sint qui non temperant a blasphemiis in Deum, sed in hos horrendis suppliciis animadvertitur. At ego Romæ his auribus audivi quosdam abominandis blassem phemiis debacchantes in Christum, et in illius apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, et quidem impune. I-bidem multos novi, qui commemorabant se dicta horrenda audisse, a quibusdam sacerdotibus aulæ pontisiciæ ministris, idque in ipsa missa, tam clare ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit." Bayle's dict. art. Calvin.

" Memini eum aliquando," fays the writer of Castellan's life, " cum pontificum Romanorum supinas libidines, aa varitiam, et rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, super-" biamque cardinalium, luxum, et ignaviam, nundinatio-" nesque, cauponationes, et flagitia reliqua aulicorum Ro-"manenfium describeret, et cætera quæ tunc vidisset com-"memoraret, ita animo concitari et indignatione commoveri consuevisse, ut ei non modo in facie color, sed et " toto corpore gestus motusque immutarentur; ut etiam " mihi frequenter diceret, sibi esse persuasissimum, ne pontifices quidem Romanos religionis et sacrorum antistites, "tot suis suorumque flagitiis sceleribusque contaminatos, " vere et ex animo Christum colere; quæ autem in reli-" gione facerent, retinendæ dominationis causa, veluti " larva ad fallendum appofita, egregie fimulare." Ib. art. Caftellan. " Scimus

Even Pope Adrian himself had so much honesty, as fairly and publicly to acknowledge, that, "for fome time past, many ab-" ominable things had prevailed in the "Roman court; that the difease had been se derived from the head to the members; " and that all was changed to the worse." A politic Cardinal, it is true, thinks but meanly of his prudence on account of this open confession: (Troppo apento, as I remember, are Pallavicini's words). But we may be well affored, that the diforders of that court were extreme, and the marks of the distemper flagrant, when such confeffion was made of its malignity by the Roman Pontiff: However, after this declaration, his days were but few, and his fucceffors never again addressed the public in this manner of her correctly and distincted

LET it be further remarked on the whole

[&]quot;Scimus in hac sancta sede, aliquot jam annis, multa abominanda fuisse;—et omnia denique in perversum mutata.

Nec mirum, si ægritudo a capite in membra, a summis
pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos, descenderit."—
Instructio Adriani pro D. Francisco Chiregato—in fasciculo rerum
expet. et sugiend.

of this subject, that the apology which is now offered in their behalf, may likewife be reasonably urged in the case of those who are liable to the fame charge, for their conduct in advancing the interests of the reformation, in those countries where the princes adhered to the Roman-Catholic religion. In some of them the reformation at last prevailed: in others it was checked and borne down by ecclefiaftical tyranny, unworthily abetted by the civil power. It is observed by a celebrated historian, in speaking of the reformation in Scotland, "that in the me-" thods by which it was advanced, there " was too great a mixture of the heat and " forwardness that is natural to the genius " of that country." Be it so, if you will: but let it not be forgot, that ere things came to a crisis in the year 1558, and during the fpace of thirty years preceding, many of those who espoused the Protestant principles, had felt the weight of persecution in one or other of its various forms. Besides imprifonment, banishment, and different species of rigorous treatment, there had been but too many instances of inhuman violence and

and bloody cruelty. Every one knows by whom these measures were carried on, and how little the civil power interpoled, in order to control this tyranny of the Popish clergy. The case of extreme necessity at last took place; and a great many of the nobility and barons affociated themselves for mutual defence, in their profession of the Protestant religion. In a short time after, the parliament approved of the confession of faith that was prefented to them; and Popery was profcribed.

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IT is, no doubt, perfectly easy for us, at this distance, to sit down in great tranquillity, and fagely to pronounce, that this or the other measure was too precipitate; and that the zeal of certain persons, at such a time, and of the multitude, at fuch another, was quite irregular. But if we look backwards, and impartially confider the general state of things at that period, and the different circumstances affecting it, our cenfure must needs be more modest; and we shall probably find ourselves inclined to admit an apology for that which cannot obtain

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at fea, it is not furely to be expected, that things should be managed so calmly and prudently as in moderate weather and an enfy voyage.

Upon the whole; as the bleffings of the reformation are truly inestimable, so we cannot help admiring those worthy men who were to unwearled in the profecution of its noble purposes. Their merit was diffinguished; their integrity approved; their qualities were eminent, and their lives exemplary; their talk was arduous; their labours incessant, and their success, through The divine bleffing, proportionable; they were honoured to be the instruments of diffusive and lasting good to the Christian church: and therefore their names, on all these accounts, and notwithstanding their failings, ought to be transmitted with respect and honour among Protestants from age to age. They have been thus transmitted, and they will be fo; at least by all who deferve to wear that name, by all who have a due regard to the united interests of truth, liberty, and religion.- I am, &c. LET-

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THE general meaning of the whole pafe

A Fren the interruption I met with From forme necessary avocations, I now go on to confider what is comained in the second passage concerning the reformation, which I transcribed in my first letter. " Before the reformation, all men of fente " and virtue withed impatiently for forme " event, which might repress the exorbi-" tant power of the clergy all over Europe, " and put an end to the unbounded ufuror pations and pretentions of the Roman " Pontiff. But when the doctrine of Lu-" ther was promulgated, they were formewhat alarmed at the sharpness of the " remedy," &c .- "It had been observed, that, upon the revival of letters, very " generous and enlarged sentiments of re-"ligion prevailed throughout all Italy; " and that, during the reign of Leo, the " court of Rome itself, in imitation of "their illustrious prince, had not been " wanting in a just sense of freedom. But "when," West won at but sylling oved THO

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THE general meaning of the whole paffage feems to be this, That men of fense and virtue longed for a reformation of those ecclefiaftical abuses which were extremely grievous; that they waited for some event, which might be happily improved to this purpose; that the attachment of the multitude to the Romish superstition was not very strong; that the revival of learning, in all probability, would have been of influence, by itself, to have corrected what was most complained of; that in fact Pope Leo and the court of Rome were not wanting in a just sense of freedom; and therefore it would appear, that it was by no means necessary for the first reformers to stir in that matter, and far less to be for deeply engaged in it. Very probably too, had they proceeded more leifurely, much might have been granted, and some things extremely difagreeable would never have happened.

This, my friend, is the general train of fentiment which is fet before us in the above passage, and is now to come under

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our review. Nothing can be more certain, than that long before the age of Luther, many wife and good men had expressed their fense of the degenerate state of the Christian church, of the corruptions which prevailed, and the oppreffive tyranny that was exercised in it. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to go no further back, their complaints were loud and frequent. They who confidered things in a religious light, were much affected with the depravations of Christian doctrine and worship, with the prevalence of fuperstition in its noxious and extensive influence, and with the gross ignorance and corruption of manners which were foread through all the orders of ecclefiaftics. But they who confidered things in a political light, were chiefly attentive to what regarded the external government of the church, and the exercise of that unlimited power to which the Roman fee laid claim. Against this the princes of Europe had, from time to time, remonstrated, and some attempts had been made to restrain it; which however, for oft knule of luneralition and flavery, to the

the most part, proved to be but weak and ineffectual.

In these two centuries, we know that, both in England and Germany, there were fome eminent doctors, who declared against many things that bore the marks of a flate of religion exceedingly vitiated; and whose writings are to be considered as a fort of dawn of the morning, breaking out after a long and difmal night of Gothic darkness. This dawn was joyfully beheld by many; and its progress was gradual towards the age of the reformation, in which the more perfect light of religious knowledge began again to shine on the Christian world. The books of Wickliff, and of his followers, had been dispersed through England, and afterwards they found their way into foreign parts. The doctrines contained in them were highly relified by not a few, both at home and abroad; to the indignation of all who chose to retain their primitive ignorance and fubmiffion; and of those too whose interest it was to defend the cause of superstition and slavery, to support

Let. IV. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 89

port every ancient error, all tenets of whatfoever kind, which had been heretofore embraced by the church; and to guard against dangerous innovations, and the dreaded incroachments of reason and free inquiry.

LET us now attend to our author's account of this matter. What is it that "all " men of fense and virtue wished for im-" patiently before the reformation? "For some event, which might repress " the exorbitant power of the clergy all o-" ver Europe, and put an end to the unbounded usurpations and pretensions of " the Roman Pontiff." And was this all that they wished to see redressed? Were the views of the wife and good wholly confined to the restraint of the power of the clergy, and of the Pontiff's usurpations? Was this the whole of what was intended by the first reformers? and if "fuch of "the ecclefiaftical abuses as were the grof-" fest and most burdensome had been cor-" rected," would this have fufficed? By the M. matton prevented, at

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ever kind, which had been he of need

embraced by the church; and to guard a-THE reformation no doubt, was favoured by many on account of its influence on the political interests of the several states: but there was another, and a most important view of it. The very name of reformation of religion points to this different, and highenview. To remove its deplorable corruptions, to restore the knowledge of Christian truth, to disclose the falsehood and fatal tendency of those tenets and practices of superstition which had so baleful an aspect on worthip, life, and morals, to the end that the Christian church might assume a better and a purer form; this, I fay, was a good and noble aim, and this was the aim of the confined to the refraint of the .sremolar

be Just reason too had the world to complain of the numberless oppressions under which they groaned, in consequence of the bold and shameful exercise of that usurped power, to which they had been so long subjected. If the reformation prevailed, it would would naturally put an end to thele. But this was not the main, far less the fole intention of Luther, and of those who first moved in it; and is rather to be confidered as a confequence of their original delign. Their general aim, then, is by this hiftorian presented in a false light. It was in truth more the business of the princes of Europe than of private doctors, to fall upon meafures for the restraint of exorbitant power, and for the redress of enormous abuses. What may be our author's opinion, with regard to the other purposes of the reformation, is not the question; or whether he thinks these were worthy of the attention of men of fense and virtue. He writes as an hiltorian; and therefore it was incumbent on him to give a full representation of facts, at least of important ones, whatever were his own fentiments about them. But to go on with his narrative:

"In the preceding state of ignorance " and tranquillity, into which mankind " were fulled, the attachment to supersti-"tion, though without reserve, was not ex-" treme." M 2

" treme." And therefore it might have been concluded, that it would be no difficult matter to disengage them; the rather that learning and knowledge began to be introduced. This, I think, is the confequence that is meant to be infinuated. But it is opposed by history and experience; by the history of the reformation, and by the state of the Roman-Catholic religion at this day. As the great progress of learning in Europe, during the two last centuries, has not produced any confiderable change to the better in many nations, which still retain their warm affection to ancient superstition; fo is not this a demonstration, in fact, that our author's reasoning is fallacious? The truth is, the knowledge of arts and sciences may flourish, where the knowledge of true religion makes but flow advances; especially, if means of every kind are used to interrupt its progress. That this was the case here, we certainly know; and the confequences are in our time manifest in Popish countries, where ignorance and bigotry are cordially allied in the breafts of multitudes,

though will out referve was noted

" treme.

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and where too many causes concur to maintain their empire.

NEITHER can I affent to the proposition itself, That, " in the preceding state of ig-" norance, the attachment to superstition, " though without referve, was not extreme." It would feem, that attachment may well be called "extreme," which is accompanied with a full and implicit refignation of the understanding and will to the doctrines and dictates of superstition. Can it be faid, that the attachment to the church and its fuperftitions was not "extreme," when, in the history of some preceding centuries, we read so often of the furious efforts of the multitude in their defence, and of that outrageous bigotry of theirs, which even monarchs dreaded, and whose terrors added so mighty an efficacy to ecclefiaftical menaces, and papal thunders? Was not the attachment "exwhich so frequently prevailed over the respect and allegiance that subjects owed to their natural princes, and which armed them against those princes, of whose conduct towards themselves they had not the

ledge

the least reason to complain? May not this epithet " extreme" be well affixed to that fort of attachment and zeal, which prompted them to put in execution the violent edicts of the Roman Pontiffs against all who dared to oppose them? The raging zeal of perfectition, and of the croifades, is but too conspicuous in the history of several ages. I do not mean here the wild expeditions into the east, which were first known by the name of croifades; but those others that were afterwards diftinguished by the lame appellation, and were published against the cities, states, or princes, who became, from time to time, obnoxious to the Roman fee. All this, I think, will go far towards confirming the negative of the agour of theirs, which even morning of swod swod swod swod whole terrors added to mighty an

IT might have been hoped," adds he, "that learning and knowledge—would "have opened the eyes of men, and cor-"rected fuch of the ecclefialtical abuses as were the groffest and most burdenfome. It had been observed," &c. He feems to affirm, that learning and knowledge ledge would probably have had a happy influence on the Pope himfelf, and have induced him, and the great prelates of his court, to redrefs those grievances which were most oppreffive. And was it only requifite in order to this that they should know they had little reason and right on their side? Had they good men, been hitherto ading wrong merely thro' ignorance and millake? And was it to be hoped, that to foon as they were apprifed of what was just and right things would be reduced to a regular order enough? and that, as they were unbiased by ambition pride, and interest they would be ready to comply with the directions of equity and found reason? According to this scheme, I cannot possibly assign any reason why they should have been so enraged at these who honestly endeavoured to fet all these matters before them in the clearof light, and to hold up to them the glass of reason, as twell as that of holy scripture and primitive antiquity, in which they might view the very deformed nature of those corruptions which had for long prevailed in the Christian churchey vinevel mode libed

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Bur perhaps the above conjecture may be propped by the following paragraph. It had been observed, that, upon the re-" vival of letters, very generous and enlarged " fentiments of religion prevailed throughout all Italy; and that, during the reign "of Leo, the court of Rome itself, in i-" mitation of their illustrious prince, had not "been wanting in a just sense of freedom." As he is here speaking of ecclesiastical abuses and usurpations, he may be thought to infinuate, that the court of Rome, and the Pope himself, had given evidence of their being inclined to quit some of their unjust pretensions, and to despoil themselves of a part of their usurped authority. Upon what occasion they did fo, I own myfelf entirely ignorant. What I know is, that nothing of this fort is to be met with in the proceedings of the Lateran council, that was affembled during his pontificate. On the contrary, he was not only folicitous to retain, but he strove to enlarge the Papal power, and to get rid of some restraints which had been laid on it by the council of Bafil, about seventy years before. Neither was

was his attempt without fuccess, as, in that council of his, the famous constitution of Boniface VIII. which affirms, that the authority of the Pope ought to be held uncontroulable, and indisputable, was approved and renewed . Any one indeed who reads the history of that council, will foon observe, that this Pontiss was but little inclined to the reformation even of those abuses which had been of a long time the subject of complaint. What has the appearance of reformation in the acts of this Lateran council, relates, for the most part, to matters of imall confequence; and where any thing of confiderable importance is touched, the redress is plainly delusory, by means of the referving clauses annexed to fome wholesome canons. Accordingly, several of their own writers exclaim against the scene of formal mockery, and against the obstinate opposition to all proposals for a reformation, that was apparent in the tulers of their church; and they conclude with lamenting its incurable state +. So that positive growian allud while that communities

meaum lufteris ingenifee."

^{*} Seff. 11.

^{† &}quot;Hæc illa est eximia," says Richer, "et tantopere

that the learning of this "illustrious Pontiff," and his supposed "just sense of freedom," were of no great influence in all this matter.

LET us now consider this same "just "fense of freedom" in another light; and as it is blended with what this author calls "very generous and enlarged sentiments of "religion." The meaning of these last words, according to his sense of things, may be perhaps easily ascertained. "That "philosophical sect, who have of late re"ceived the appellation of freethinkers *," was not first heard of in our age. The Pope of whom we speak, and some of his chief

[&]quot;a Christianis nationibus, ducentis abhine annis, exo"ptata reformatio: vel, ut verius dicamus, abuluum curize
"Romanze incrustatio atque involutio." And again, in
speaking of the court of Rome, "Cum igitur morbi, injurize
"atque corruptelze illine unde medicina juraque salutaria
"debebant promanare, scaturiunt; quotusquisque et de ec"clesize in melius instauratione, et de publica salute, spem
"omnem non merito abjiciat?" Richerii bist. concil. gener.
Iib. 4.—"Vale, Christiane lector," says another Roman
doctor, "et ecclesiasticze disciplinze ad deteriora prolaban"ti quotidie, quoniam aliud nihil sere restat, communibus
"mecum suspinis ingemisce."

of the Hac illa electrisms, " fine Richer, " co. que eine

counsellors, were heretofore shrewdly fuspected of a warm attachment to it : in a word, it was faid that they had no great regard to fome of the effential principles of religion and the Christian faith; and the charge, it would appear, is not without foundation. Certain it is, that infidelity began at that time to fpread through Italy. This was the extreme into which many were thrown, who confidered the Christian doctrine as it was exhibited in the tenets of that church; to fome of which they could not possibly yield their affent. Thus, with out entering into a detail, without diffinguishing betwixt the genuine doctrines of Christianity, and the infusions of folly and superstition; they were but too ready to form their conclusions on the fide of infide lity. These received an additional force from their knowledge of the licentious manners of the ecclefiaftics, from their attention to the frame of worship that was established, to the variety of gainful tenets that were strongly inculcated, and of shameful impostures that were publicly authorifed; and, in a word, to those pretensions and N2 maxims nobnada.

OTHERS there were of a different turn, of a better spirit, and of just discernment, who soon favoured the doctrines of the reformation, and in a little time after embraced them with pleasure; although, on this account, several of them were obliged to abandon

from their knowledge of the licentions

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abandon their matico levisan miente de de le le levisan de de le levisan de levis de

This fame illustrious Pontiff, with all his " just sense of freedom," exerted himself in the manner of the most determined bigot, in many infrances; particularly for with regard to the first reformers in Germany. What though he may be supposed to have been a fceptic, an infidel, an Atheift, if you will; it doth by no means follow, that he would allow others to espouse what opinions they pleafed, to judge for themselves, to declare their fentiments, and to act according to the dictates of conscience in the bufiness of religion. The reason is plain; because the consequences might have been fatal to those interests which were fupreme in his affection. Some of the most irreligious and profligate of his predeceffors had shewn themselves, upon occasions, to be the most violent persecutors of all those who refused their affent and submission to authorised doctrines and rites. Whether bigot

bigot or infidel, is of little importance here: the outward conduct will be the fame. All history attests it; the reason of the thing persuades it; and the uniform behaviour of the Popes Leo and Adrian towards the first reformers, (without going any further), is fully sufficient to confirm it. In their outrageous treatment of them, the honest bigot and the illustrious sceptic most cordially agree; however widely they might differ in their own private fentiments about religion. There is then no fort of connection, fo far as I can perceive, betwixt the Deiftical principles of Pope Leo and his courtiers, and their bearing the least good-will to the reformation of the church. Had there been any fuch connection, a change would have commenced long before, as this was not the first Pontiff who was suspected of these principles. Some others had been accused of them, in the most public manner, and in the face of general councils. To fay truth, it is fomewhat ludicrous in our author, to talk of any hope of reformation, or even of indulgence to it, from that quarter: and in fact, this same "just sense of freedom," which bigot

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is by him ascribed to the Pope and his friends, did not hinder them from entering into all measures of severity and persecution, against those who honestly and openly professed their opinion and belief.

As to what he calls "generous and enlarged fentiments of religion," I am bold to affirm, that very different epithets are due to the principles of scepticism and infidelity, which would despoil us of all noble sentiments and aims, which would deprive us of all rational grounds of inward tranquillity, would extinguish our hopes with respect to a better and a happier world, and would present to us a dejecting and debasing view of nature, of mankind, and of God. -But what is in itself absurd and fordid. may be dignified, or may be meant to be dignified, by quite opposite titles: and fome of those who do so, may perhaps dream of their making great progress in the paths of learning and true knowledge; while, in reality, they are bewildered in a maze of dark notions, and are apt to sldmuth her bed been mod complained of,

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fumble at every obstacle that lies in their way no more ment reliable to bile about the more ment reliable to bile about the control of the c

SEE then, my friend, how we are to conclude, upon the whole, concerning that train of fentiments and hints which is furnished out by this historian. They are intended, you fee, to perfuade, that it was not at all necessary for the first reformers to bestir themselves as they did; since it might have been hoped, that, upon the revival of learning, a reformation would have followed of courie; especially as the attachment of the multitude to those superstitions, to which they had been long accustomed, was not extreme: nay, it was to be hoped, that a wished-for reformation would have been favoured and promoted even by the court of Rome itself; and the rather, that the Pope and his chief friends, in confequence of their fceptical or libertine principles, would probably have very little regarded what topinions were prevalent; and would not only have allowed men to think and profess as they pleased, but would have also corrected what had been most complained of, and

Let. IV. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 105 and put a final period to the oppressive exercise of spiritual dominion.

HERE, I think, one might fafely drop the subject I but, that you may have a more sull view of it, it may not be improper to enter into some further particulars, and to remind you of a few passages relative to the first steps of the reformation; by an attention to which, it will be easily discerned what was the spirit of the court of Rome, and to whom the epithets "furious and "enraged" do most justly appertain. We have seen to whom this historian would appropriate them: but that they may be more properly ascribed to very different persons, we shall soon, if I mistake not, find reason to conclude.

LUTHER, it is well known, first set himself against the notorious abuse of indulgences. These the Pope had caused to be
published every where, that he might remedy the disorder of his finances, which had
been much exhausted; and might likewise
have it in his power to bestow large sums
on

ins that the world had frequently feen thefe

on his friends, by affigning them the revenues that were to be derived from those indulgences in this or the other province. F. Paul (whose account of things I have now chiefly in my eye) has remarked, that Pope Urban, towards the end of the eleventh. century, first granted plenary indulgences to all who would join in the intended expedition to the holy land. The example, adds he, was followed by feveral of his fuccessors; who refined upon this new invention, and extended their indulgences to those who should furnish men or money for that service: and in course of time to those also who should, in like manner, affift in the croifades against those Christians who fell under the displeasure of the Roman Pontiffs. He goes on to inform. us, that the world had frequently feen these fums, or at least a great part of them, applied to purpoles very different from that, under the pretext of which they had been amaffed. As to Leo's indulgences, they were given to all without exception who would purchase them; and were intended for the good, as he faid, not only of the no living,

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living, but likewise of the dead; as their influence was supposed to reach the state of souls in purgatory, in order to their instant deliverance. In the distribution of the revenue that was to be raised from the sale of his indulgences, he made a gift of what should be levied in Saxony and the northern parts of Germany, to his fifter, who was married to a natural son of Pope Innocent VIII.

that the chandles and authority of the THEY who published the indulgences behaved themselves in the most scandalous manner: fo that wife and fober men were quite shocked at the shameful tenets which they maintained, and at the nature" and circumstances of this infamous brokage. In speaking of this subject, a famous Italian author fays, that " the Bishop Arem-" baud, who received his commission from " the Pope's fifter, was a minister worthy. " of fuch a commission, and that he exe-" cuted it with great extortion and ava-" rice; that many of those persons who " were employed under him, gamed away " these indulgences in taverns; and fince 0 2 leggs !

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the money arising from them was not to be remitted to the Pope's treasury, from whence part of it might have been afterwards iffued for some good use, but that the whole of it was destined to satisfy the avarioe of a lady; therefore an indignation of spirit, and an abhorrence of this exaction, and of its ministers, had been raised in the breasts of men; and that the character and authority of the Pope himself suffered greatly on this occasion.*" Although Guiceiardini, the

quite (hooked at the flatmetal trenets which "-Haveva concitato in molti luoghi indegnatione, & " scandalo assai, & specialmente nella Germania; dove a molti de' ministri erano veduta vendere per poco prezzo, o « giocarsi su le taverne la faculta del liberare l'anime de' morti dal purgatorio. Et acrebbe che il pontefice, il quale per facilita della natura sua, effercitava in molte cose con poca maesta l'ufficio pontesicale, dono a Mad-" dalena fua forella lo emolumento, et l'elattione delle in-" dulgenze di molte parti di Germania; la quale havendo " fatto deputare commessario il Vescovo Aremboddo, ministro degno di questa commessione, che l'essercitava con grande avaritia et estorsione, e sapendosi per tutta la "Germania che i danari, che se ne cavavano non andavano " al pontefice, o alla camera apostolica, donde non sarebbe ff forse stato possibile che qualche parte sene fusse spesa in usi

author I now point at, was not a friend to the reformation, yet he is not unwilling to allow, that Luther had but too good reason to oppose these indulgences, and to quel stion the authority upon which they were founded.

He did oppose them, and spoke against the dangerous doctrines and licentious be haviour of those who distributed them. He laid the case before the Bishop of Brandenburg and the Archbishop of Mentz, to whom he directed very submissive letters, though without effect. Afterwards having carefully considered the subject, he published his sentiments about indulgences,

[&]quot;buoni, ma era destinata a satisfare all'avaritia d'una donna; haveva fatto detestabile non solo l'esattione, et i ministri di quella, ma il nome ancora, e l'autorità di chi tanto inconsultamente le concedeva. La-qual occa- sono bavendo presa Lutero, et havendo comminciato a disprezzare queste concessioni, et a tassarre in queste l'autorità del pontesice, multiplicandogli in causa favorevole a gli orecchi de' popoli, numero grande di auditori; commincio ogni di piu scopertamente a negare l'autorità del pontesice. Da questi principii forse honesti, o almeno per la guista occasione, che gli era data, in qualche parte sculabili, &c." L' bist. L'Italia di Guicciardini, lib. 13.

purgatory, penance, and other points intermixed with them. This small tract was writ in the scholastic way : and his opinions were formed into a great many theses or conclusions, to the examination of which the learned were invited. He fent it to the vicar-general of his order, about Midfummer 1518, and prefixed to it a submissive dedication to the Pope; in which he acquaints him, that the preachers of indulgences had openly taught the most impious and heretical doctrines; that they had imposed an oath upon confessors, binding them to inculcate these; and that they were guilty of infatiable avarice, reckoning themselves secure under the protection of his great name, which many had taken occafion on their account to reproach. He adds, that he was much affected with all this scene; and that as he was destitute of authority, he had addressed himself to some of the great prelates of the church concerning it; that their treatment of him was different; and that the terror of his Holiness's name, and the threatenings of church-censures, had much influence upon them: purgatory.

them: at length, as he goes on, when he could do nothing elfe, he resolved at least gently to oppose these corrupt teachers, by calling in question their tenets, and propofing a disputation upon them. To this end he had wrote and printed a short treatife; which he might well do, who was, by his apostolic authority, a professor of theology, agreeably to the usual manner in all univerfities, where fubjects of fuperior importance to any he had touched were every day canvassed. It was composed in the form that is familiar to the schools, but not at all adapted to the understandings of the vulgar. Now that he had declared his fentiments, he asks what he should do. He was conscious to himself of his own defects in point of genius and learning: he had been unwilling to appear in public: he was fenfible, that he had incurred the hatred of many: he wished to mitigate it, and to guard against its effects; and therefore would he commend himself to his protection: he refers the whole matter to his Holiness; and concludes with expressing his fubmiffion to his judgment and authori-

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france of that famous dedication. ob binos

wast to appoin their corrupt machers, by

calling in duction their tenats, and propo-* "Copit apud nos, diebus proximis, prædicari jubilæns " ille indulgentiarum apostolicarum, profecitque adeo ut pracones illius, sub tui nominis terrore omnia sibi licere pu-" tautes, impiffima hereticaque palam auderent docere, in " gravissimum scandalum et ludibrium ecclesiasticæ potefatis, ac si decretales de abusionibus quæstorum nihil ad eos perfinerent. Nec contenti quod liberrimis verbis " hæc fua venena diffunderent, infuper libellos ediderunt, et " ita statuerunt ut confessores juramento adigerent, quo hæc " ipla fidelissime instantissimeque populo inculcarent. Ve-" ra dico-extant libelli, nec possunt negare. Unum erat quo fcandala fedabant, fciz terror nominis tui : (insuper) ignis comminatio, et hæretici nominis oppro-" brium. Verum nihilominus crebrescebant fabulæ per " tabernas de avaritia facerdotum, detractioneque clavium fuminique pontificis, ut testis est vox totius hojos terra-" Ego fane (ut fateor) pro zelo Christi, sicuti mî videbar, " aut, si ita placet, pro juvenili calore, urebar; nec tamen meum effe videbam in his quicquam statuere aut facere; " proinde monui privatim aliquot magnates eccleliarum. "Hicab aliis acceptabar, aliis ridiculum, aliis aliud videbar: " prævalebat enim nominis tui terror, et censurarum intentatio. Tandem cum nihil possem aliud, visum est saltem leni-" uscale illis reluctari, id est, corum dogmata in dubium et " disputationem vocare, Litaque schedulam disputatoriam edidi, invitans tantum doctiores, siqui vellent, mecum disputare. - Ecce hoc est incendium, quo totum mundum queruntur conflagrare; forte quod indignantur me u-" num autoritate tua apoltolica magistrum theologia, jus " habere in publica schola disputandi, pro more omnium " univerMEAN while they who were most concorned in the shameful traffic, were further
alarmed and enraged at Luther's conduct.
Obloquy, harsh names, and high threatenings were poured out against him: and
some of his adversaries, particularly Prierias and Eckius, wrote answers to his
book, which were penned with the utmost
acrimony of style. As any thing that had
the shew of argument in those compositions,
was grounded upon the supposed infallibility of the Roman Pontists, Luther entered into an examination of this matter, and
declared his aftent to the judgment of the

universitatum et totius ecclesiæ, non modo de indulgen"tiis, verum etiam de potestate, remissione, indulgentiis di"vinis, incomparabiliten majoribus rebus. — Nune quid faciam? revocare non possum; et miram mihi invidiam ex
ea invulgatione video constari. Invitus venio in publi"cum, presertim ego indoctus, vacuus eruditione, &c.
"Sed cogit necessitas; —itaque quo et ipsos adversarios
"mitigem, et desideria multorum expleam, emitto ecce
"meas nugas declaratorias mearum disputationum; emitto
"autem, quo tutior sim, sub tui nominis præsidio, et tue
"protectionis umbra, Beatiss. Pater. — Quare, Beat. Pater,
"prostratum me pedibus tuæ Beatitudinis offero, cum o"mnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivisica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuenti;" &c.

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council of Constance, which affirms, that the authority of a general council is superior to that of the Pope By and by he was furmoned to Rome, and at the fame time Leo fent a brief to the Elector of Saxony, exhorting him not to afford his protection to a man who deserved it so little. He wrote also to Cardinal Cajetan, his legate at the diet of Ausburg, that he might use means to get him fent prisoner to Rome. The Pope was afterwards prevailed with to refer the judgment of the cause to this legate. Having received a fafe conduct from the Emperory Luther appeared before the Cardinal; who first represented to him the danger he was in, if he perfitted in his way; and then attempted to allure him by the fair prospect of wealth and honours, of which he gave him liberal promifes in the Pope's name, if he would retract his fentiments. But he foon found, that this was not the proper method of dealing with one who had neither a timorous nor a fordid spirit, and whose steady regard to virtue and religion kept him at a distance from a compliance with any thing that might viocouncil late late his conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The haughty Cardinal was much provoked at his firmness, and at the honest freedom of his discourse, so that he broke out into passionate expressions and menaces. Luther patiently bore with this harsh usage; nay, when he was on his journey homeward, he wrote him a

fubmissive letter, in order to fosten his dif-

the apprehension of this, was he terulasiq

give up with the truth, and tamply to bear BUT Thew adversaries, were stirred up against him, and against the doctrines he taught; which ftill continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all this opposition. At length, the Pope, afraid of some incroachment upon his authority, fent a bull into Germany; in which he afferted his own plenary power, and the validity of his indulgences in their dargest extent, as reaching both to the living and to the dead; which plenitude of power belonged to him, as he was successor of St Peter. He further declared, that this was the doctrine of the Roman church, and that it ought to be received by all Christians. Copies P 2 not

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Copies of this bull were dispersed through Germany by his legate, with injoined the bishops to denounce severel punishment against those who did not believe agreesably to what was contained in its doct and and another against those who did not believe agreesably to what was contained in its doct and

Arten this plain condemnation of his doctrine, Luther and his friends might well look for the worst of treatment . And in the apprehension of this, was he basely to give up with the truth, and tamely to bow down under this despote power? Thus did his enemies fondly hope; but he full adhered to the honest and generous purpose he had formed. He implored the protect tion of his prince; and it was granted. The university of Wittemberg openly befriended his cause, and multitudes every where embraced his principles. Being thus encouraged, and commending himfelf to the divine care, he ventured to protest against the judgment of the Pope exhibited in his bull, and to appeal from it to the decision of a general council, to which he maintained the preference bought, on all accounts, to be given. Such appeal was Copies not

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not indeed an unheard of thing; or eather it was a regular and legal measure, supported by the authority of two famous councils in the fifteenth century. Pather Paul acquaints us, that this protestation and appeal was soon spread over Germany; and that, generally speaking, it was thought just and reasonable.

In the following year, 1710, Luther proceeded to the examination of feveral important articles of religious faith and practice, and shewed the corruptions of the church of Rome in these points. At the fame time Zuinglius, a doctor of theology, was at the head of the opposition to indulgences in Switzerland. He had, in like manner; been led from one fubject to another; and declaring against many establiffied opinions and rites, the appealed to scripture and primitive antiquity. But the enemies of the reformation were extremely unwilling to carry up their refearches fo high; and would rather have had every thing tried by the decretals of Popes, the practice of a few preceding ages, the fentis ments though

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ments of some of the later fathers, and by the venerable authority of the schoolmen. These were the soundations upon which they settled the vindication of the Popish plan; while the supposed guilt of heresy, and their real danger who embraced the reformation, were represented in the strongest light.

AT this time too the Pope was folicited to a more firenuous exertion of his authority; and he confented to refer the cognifance of this whole affair to a felect congregation of prelates, divines, and canonists. By their advice, a bull was drawn up (anno 1520), in which the Pope talks in the ftyle of a bigot; condemns a great many articles of Luther's doctrine as heretical, false, scandalous, and contrary to catholic truths; denounces high penalties against all who should teach or espouse them; gives orders to all into whose hands they may come, to burn Luther's books; and he is pleased to add, that fince Luther had, for a year past, continued to difregard the cenfures of the church, had refused to appear at Rome, though ments

though he made him the offer of a fafe conducty and had even dared to appeal from his judgment to the decision of a future council, in direct contradiction to the peremptory prohibitions of the Popes Pius Ik and Julius III he might, therefore now proceed to his condemnation, without any fire ther delay. Nevertheless, the once more exhorts him, and all his adherents, nto res nounce their errors, within the space of dix: ty days, and to burn the books in which they are contained; otherwise he determines and declares, withat they are to be held and treated as notorious and obstinate heretics. He prohibits all intercourse with them, lays all places to which they may go under an interdict, and commands them to be feized, where-ever they are to be found, in order to their being brought prisoners to Rome. In the conclusion, he directs this bull to be published every where, and excommunicates all those who should obstruct the reading and publication of it. Total bins

Such was the tenor of the bull, and this the behaviour of Leo and his court, not-

withflanding their stigenerous and enlarged frefentiments to for religion;" beand motwithflanding their officials of officedom?" Thus did they fully comply with the advice which Father Paul tells us, the inquifitor Friar Hoghrat, in the true I spirit of his office, had given at first to the Pope, boncoming the proper method of refuting the doctrines of Buthers | which he thought was to be done by means of fire and faggot. No wonder then, that this worthy man, fo affinited, found-himfelf-animated-to write in his own defence din the defence of facred truthmand of albits friends Accord ingly, as foon as he was apprifed of the contents of the papal bull, he renewed his appeal to a future council, complained of his being condemned without having been heard in his form defence, a took notice of the unwillingness which the Pope shewed to fullect his doctrines to the trial of foripture, and the decision of a general council; and then he intreats the Emperor, band all princes and magistrates, to admit of his appeal, in maintenance of the authority of those councils, without regarding the illegal withflanding and

Let. IV. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 121 and unrighteous decree of the Pope against birn.

given every one the titles of benow which

Towards the beginning of the next year, the diet of the empire was affembled at Worms; and Luther had a furnmons to attend it, together with a fafe conduct from the Emperor Charles V. that he might there give an account of the doctrines which he taught. He obeyed the fummons, and appeared before that grand affembly. Being asked, If he was the auther of those books which bore his name. whose titles were then read to him? and, Whether he adhered to the tenets which were to be found there, or would retract any of them? he made answer to the first question, That he acknowledged these books to be of his composure; and with regard to the second, as it was a point of great importance, he asked a little time to deliberate on the return he should make. He was allowed till next day; when the questions being repeated, in the introduction of his answer, he made an apology for his not having addressed himself the day them before

before to that august assembly in the most proper terms, and for his having failed in not giving every one the titles of honour which appertained to him. As to his writings, he faid they were of three forts; the first of which concerned the doctrines of faith and piety; the second impugned the tenets and practices of the court of Rome; and the third confifted of replies to his adversaries. In relation to the doctrines, he faid, That as he was fully perfuaded of their truth, he would neither act as a Christian, nor even as an honest man, if he renounced them, or professed to renounce them. He appealed to themselves, whether there was not too good reason for his writings of the fecond fort, fince all Christian States, particularly those of Germany, had been pillaged with impunity, and groaned under a heavy yoke; adding withal, that a retractation of his fentiments on this head, might tend to the strengthening of that tyranny which had been fo long exercised. As to the third class, he acknowledged, that he had wrote some of those pieces with too much heat and passion; and told them perfore

them further, that as he could not lay claim to an exemption from faults, so he would not defend them; but that he adhered to his general doctrines as Christian truths, and was ready to explain the grounds of his perfuation to every one that asked him; declaring at the same time, that if any perfon should convince him of error by the holy scripture, he would himself throw his books into the flames. He concluded with a plain and honest address to the Emperor and princes, concerning the importance of religious truth, and the great guilt and danger of despiting or rejecting it. A little after, the Emperor put the question to him, and required him to declare at once, whether he was refolved to defend his writings? His answer was, That he could not retract what he had wrote or taught, till his adversaries, either by reason or scripture, should prove it to be erroneous. He was next called to a private meeting of fome ecclefiaftical and fecular princes; where it was proposed and urged, that he should refer himself to the judgment of a council which was foon to be affembled. To this Acres W

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this proposal he consented, upon two conditions, one of which was, that the judgment should be formed on the testimony of holy writing But the Emperor was refolved on fevere measures, without violating, however, the fafe conduct that he had given; to which violation there were not wanting fome who endeavoured to incite him, and who talked of the decree of the council of Constance, about a hundred years before, which determined, that faith was not to be kept with heretics. The Elector Palatine vigorously opposed the infamous counsel; and the Emperor himself refused to comply, faying very honourably, as Mr Lenfant informs us, "that he did not so chase to blush with his predecessor Si-"gilmund;" meaning the prince who had adlowed his fafe conduct to John Hufs to be basely violated, and who could not re-Arain himself from blushing in a public meeting of the council, when he was reminded of it by that much-injured, emiirwas propoled and urged, that his instituted

or Soon lafter Luther's reparture from with the worms,

Worms, the Emperor issued a rigorous edict against him, and against all who were of the fame fentiments; in which, among other things, he declares, that agreeably to the Pope's fentence, and in execution of it, Luther is to be confidered as a notorious heretic; and he commands him to be treated as fuch, by the princes and states of the empire; who were charged, under the usual penalties, to imprison thim after a certain term of days, and every where to punish all who adhered to him with the confiscation of their goods. The whole ftrain of the edict is to a high degree fevere; and there are forme virulent expresfions in it, which inflamed bigotry alone could dictate. But as Luther, and the university of Wittemberg, had the protection of their natural prince; and as the friends of the reformation foon became a respectable body in Germany, neither the Pope's menacing bull, nor the Emperor's violent edict produced their intended effect. In course of time, Charles was obliged to abate much of his feverity towards them; especially when he stood in need, as was frequently. Well

frequently the case, of the affiftance of Protestant princes, in the profecution of his various political fchemes. Concord was at length, in some measure, established; and the free exercise of both religions was allowed of in the empire. But not to go further in this detail; wherein I have purposely followed the account of a Roman Catholic, rather than that of any Protestant historian; and indeed the integrity and candour of the celebrated Father Paul may well recommend his hiftory to univerfal regard: Hims

confidention both their goods of The whole In fum, we have feen with what prudence and becoming moderation Luther conducted himself in the first steps of his opposition, notwithstanding his zeal and heat of temper: we have feen how he addressed himfelf to those of power and influence, on the subject of indulgences, and laid before them a representation of the shameful tenets, and the no less shameful lives of those who published them. When such application was ineffectual, he afterwards spoke more openly against these scandalous doctrines; which every honest man might frequently well

well have done, and which multitudes did as well as he. He then proposed a disputation on the theses or positions in which he had comprised his sentiments: and when he did so, he acted in the character of a man of learning, and fuitably to the duty of his station. But his adversaries thought it more proper, as it was furely less difficult, to found the alarm of herefy, to calumniate boldly, and to threaten feverely, rather than to confute his reasonings, and to overthrow his conclusions. He laid the whole matter before the Pope, to whom he fent his book, together with a letter expressing the greatest respect and fubmission. What was the effect? Did he attend to this affair in a fuitable manner? Did he enter into an examination of particulars, as he ought to have done, and as Luther had humbly requested? Did he shew any the least inclination to restrain the licentious doctrines and behaviour of those who spread his indulgences, and to correct what all good men were ashamed of? Was this his conduct? Was there any ground to hope that it would be his conduct? Where

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conduct? Quite the reverse. Nothing of this spirit is to be discerned in bim, or in the councils of his court. Instead of acting this part, instead of attending to the just complaints that were made against those heralds of the indulgences, instead of giving check to the doctrines and enormities of these miscreants; this same sceptical and applauded Pontiff, unwilling to punish or to cenfure them, displeased with such addreffes, and extremely offended at those who seemed to call in question his authority, and to doubt the efficacy of his pardons, thought fit to affume the air and style of haughty bigotry; to speak of himself as the fuccessor of St Peter, and the vicar of Christ upon earth; to affert his own plenitude of apostolic power, and the validity of his indulgences to the dead and living; and peremptorily to injoin all Christians to believe accordingly. Here was a speedy and a full decision of the matter; at least so far as his declaration and authority could decide it: and this bull was but a prelude to the more severe and fanguinary one, which was published foon after. Where

Where now is the boatted "just fense of "reedom po what is become of "the generous and enlarged fentiments of "sereligion, "afrom which the most happy effects should have been derived? Are there any traces of the spirit of liberty and mod deration in all this conduct? any marks of regard to faith and religion, to justice and probity, to equity and candour d Or rather, whatever might be his own fceptical principles, did he not act in the spirit of pride and ecclefiaftical tyranny? Jealous of incroachments upon the power which he claimed and tenaciously adhering to the principles which tended to confirm it, he could not bear with any thing that was repugnant to one of the other: in a word, he discovered the true spirit of a Roman Pontiff. He feems at first to have thought, and his whole court was willing to think; that the opposition which was made by Luther and fome others was of little confesquence; and that persons of no great note in the world might be eafily crushed by the weight of his power. But the goodness of their cause, the truth of their sentiments, Sirt.

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the clearness of their reasonings, and the great importance of their doctrines, gave them a strength which soon became formidable to their adversaries, and weakened the foundations of that sabric, which had been reared upon the ruins of truth, and of the rights and liberties of mankind.

of regard to fairth and religion, to judice and

JUDGE now, my friend, to whom the epithets "furious and enraged" do rightly appertain: what pity it is, that the conduct of a Pope, who is faid to have been a freethinker, and the counfels of a court, where fceptical principles are thought to have been held in no finally repute; what pity, that the counfels and conduct of those men, from whom better things might have been expected, should be so justly liable to the reproach of violence and rage! May not our author's style then be inverted on this subject? At any rate, might he not have fometimes applied these epithets where they are unquestionably most proper, and have softened them where they are least so? They are, however, referved (and perhaps it better answered his

his defign that they should be referved) to be poured out on fome great and worthy names. As to Luther, in particular, whose conduct we have been confidering; he was certainly an eminent, an honest, and a good man; and was diftinguished from his fellow-labourers not fo much by fuperior endowments of mind, as by his peculiar firmness and intrepidity in the cause of religion, to which he bore the highest affection. His zeal to maintain its interefts, feems to have been ftrengthened in proportion to his increasing knowledge of. its doctrines, and of the complicated errors of Popery. That he was a man of a warm temper; that he fometimes wrote and acted with too much heat against his adverfaries; and in general that the weakness and perturbation of human passions were fometimes mingled with his honest zeal; all this, I fay, I have already acknowledged in the preceding letter, and have there added an apology, to which I now refer. Let it be remembered too, what moderation he shewed in the first steps of his conduct, of which fome account has R 2

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been given in the short sketch of history that I have laid before you. With pleasure could I make some remarks upon his behaviour before the illustrious affembly at Worms, which, I think, was truly noble. But this letter is already drawn out to a great length; and therefore to all that I have faid of him, I shall now only subjoin the honourable testimony that is given to the purity of his life and manners, by one who was no friend of his; I mean Erafmus, "Hominis vita," fays he, in one of his letters, as magno omnium confensu probastur. solam id non leve præjudicium eft, " tantam effe morum integritatem, ut nec "hostes reperiant, quod calumnientur," and acted with teo made hear againfrans

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chan; all this, Istay, I have already act

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fuch events palled without producing any street, whill green either threet nour o inc

prove them, or had ventured to do lo, with-HE remaining points are of left imti Low portance than those we have already confidered. s But as we have proposed to give due attention to all that our author has faid upon this fubject, let us now go on to speak of the objection against the reformation, as premature, which hes first in our way. Wit is infinuated, that the feafon proper for it was not yet come, and that it would have been better to have waited for fome happy event, " which might reprefs the exorbitant power of the clergy all oserver Europe, and put an end to the un-" bounded usurpations and pretentions of withe Roman Pontiff?" be Banong vods tads fubjection. "If I am not mistaken," it may

Bur how long, pray, was the Christian world to wait for such event it and how often had events, which seemed to have the most favourable aspect on the restraint of papal tyranny, (for only this part of the subject is in his eye, and to it I shall now confine myself); how often, I say, had such

fuch events passed without producing any effect, whilst men either dared not to improve them, or had ventured to do fo, without success ? Nay, further, at what time foever like events should happen, was it not still to be expected, that a like formidable opposition should be made to all attempts towards improving them? We are not to think, that an unlimited submission was every where paid to the arbitrary dictates of pontifical authority, even when it was at its greatest height; far less when it was in a state of progression. Remonstrances were made in every age; and some princes now and then made a bold stand against its incroachments; the consequence of which, for the most part, was only this, that they protracted the date of their entire If I am not mistaken, it may fubjection. be demonstrated, that the depravations of Christian doctrine kept pace with the progress of the spiritual monarchy; hand it would be no unentertaining speculation to trace their unhappy connection and mutual influence. But as they who cannot reason can however feel, fo in the darkeft ages, fuch from

from the eleventh century downwards, no small refusance was made to the ambition, the exactions, and oppressions of the Roman see.

hinder the progress of that defined and el DURING the course of these ages, it was almost impossible, that many events conducive to the purpose that I now speak of, should not have happened. With some of them we are well acquainted. For instance, was there not a concurrence of many favourable circumstances at the time when the council of Constance was affembled, towards the beginning of the fifteenth century? The greatest confusions had long prevailed in the church; the world was fully fensible of them; three Popes were contending with each other; there was much talk in the council about "the re-" formation of the church in its head and " members," the necessity of which was pleaded by many amongst themselves; the Emperor Sigismund, who was protector of the council, and feveral other princes, required it of them, and good men every where anxiously longed for it. What was the thev

the result of all? The acts of that council will inform us of Ing word, slimb change to the better was effected; and the Pope whom they chose, soon found means to hinder the progress of that design, and even to render infignificant some concessions and regulations that had been made before his election I The folenn decree too, which appointed that general councils should be afferibled every tenth year, and with which many had been amused, was in a little time totally diffegarded wo I heed not freak of the council of Ball, of of the proceedings of that other which met at Pila, under the protection of Lewis XII! toof France. There was, it is true, no finall noise in Both about gross abuses and enor mities in the government of the church, and about the universal corruption of discipline and manners: but their schemes were counteracted by the power, and eluded by the artifice of the court of Rome; and it might well be expected, that this would be ever the fate of all fuch deligns. I As plety, felf-denial, purity of life, and humility were not often to be met with there, fo they

they were qualifications not at all to be looked for in the Popes themselves: they had indeed, for ages past, ceased to be the qualifications of those who called themselves the successors of St Peter.

But, perhaps, if the first reformers had proceeded more flowly, and if their demands had been more moderate, much might have been obtained even from the papal court. "When the doctrine of Luther " was promulgated, they were fomewhat " alarmed at the sharpness of the remedy," Gc. We have had occasion already to remark what it was that he first complained of, in what manner he behaved himself, how unworthily he was treated, and how fuddenly the displeasure of Leo was stirred against him, and against the fentiments which he then entertained, though they were far from being subversive of his authority. His own jealoufy, and that of his counfellors, was awakened, and their offenfive zeal was roufed, the efforts of which were vehement and formidable. But, through the direction of a wisdom infinite-

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ly superior to theirs, some of those means made use of to check the reformation, became subservient to its best interests.

THE utter aversion of the rulers of the church from any defign of reformation was further apparent, in the extreme uneafiness which they shewed at the proposal of calling a general council, in the various artifices they put in practice on this occasion, and in the reluctance with which they at last yielded to the request that had been so often renewed by the Catholic princes. When this importunity of theirs had prevailed, and a council was affembled, were they not to the utmost degree solicitous to obtain the direction of it, and to obstruct any measures of reformation that were, or that might be propounded? and was not every method contrived, and all that was within the compass of human policy practifed, that could be of any influence in this matter? If we read Father Paul's history of the council of Trent, or even that other which was writ by Pallavicini, we shall -atinital mobbines to notobility of find Let V. Mr HUME'S HISTORY.

find that they were so; and that the wished for fuccess attended them.

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LET me be allowed to suppose, that any one of the dignified prelates of that church, in compliance with the dictates of his conscience, had honestly resolved to exert his authority within the bounds of his own jurisdiction, for the correction of what was extremely amis, and for promoting true Christian knowledge. Let it be further supposed, that the plan of reformation had been carried on flowly, in the most regular manner, without impugning the authority of the Pope, nay even without intending any great incroachment on the wealth and power of the clergy. Yet in the case I have now put, and notwithstanding all the moderation of this scheme, it is, I think, most probable, that this worthy man would have met with the greatest obstacles in profecuting his refolution. Perhaps he might have been urged for fome time to quit his purpose; but if he had refused to comply, the character of heretic, of an obstinate heretic, would have been affixed to him, and S 2

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and a condemnatory fentence pronounced, which the Catholic princes would have been incited to execute.

LET me be allowed to hippofe, that any

An imaginary case, you will be ready to fay. Not altogether fo, my friend. There is at least one instance of it in the annals of the fixteenth century. Herman de Wida the Elector of Cologn, in the year 1536, held a council of his suffragan bishops, in which were paffed many decrees of reformation relative to discipline and manners. About feven years after, in an affembly of the nobility and clergy, he proceeded to eftablish articles of reformation in matters of faith and worship, without any mention of the Pope on the one hand, or of the Lutherans on the other. But his measures were not at all acceptable to the bigotted part of the laity, and were exceedingly unacceptable to most of the elergy. The good Archbishop published a manifesto, wherein he declared, that he could not abandon a cause in which the purity of religion, the glory of God, and the interests of his church were so nearly concerned; and

and that he had nothing to do with the fentiments of the Lutherans, or of any o ther persons, but with the truths of holy writ, to which his doctrines were conformable. The Pope was irritated at his fteadiness, and pronounced fentence against him; declaring him an heretic; depriving him of his archbishoprick, and of all his ecclesianieal rights; absolving his subjects from their oath of fidelity; and affirming that he had incurred the centures of Leo's bull against Luther and his adherents, by embracing their opinions, which were contrary to the doctrines and rules of the church. The next thing that followed of course, was to folicit the Emperor to render this fentence effectual; who, for political reasons, declined the fervice for fome time; but at length he fet about it. The states of the. province were affembled; they were ordered to swear allegiance to the person who had been heretofore coadjutor to the Archa bishop: the ecclesiastics readily obeyed; but the nobility, and the deputies of the towns, were reluctant, declaring, that they would not throw off that allegiance to their prince,

Say then, my friend, is not all this treatment of a person of such high rank and merit most proper to confirm what I have afferted concerning the aversion of the court of Rome to any sort of change that deserved the name of reformation? A thorough one, they might easily perceive, would nearly affect

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affect those interests which were very dear to them; and if once a reformation was set on foot, they could not know to what a length it might proceed. That its beginnings therefore were to be withstood, they seem to have laid down as a capital rule, whose direction indeed they followed pretty uniformly. Even this illustrious prelate is proscribed, notwithstanding the mildness of his sentiments, and the moderation of his plan. So unquestionably certain is it, that every attempt of a reformation was abhorred, in whatever manner the purpose might be prosecuted.

"THE Roman Pontiff," fays our hiftorian, "not armed with temporal force suf"ficient for his defence, was obliged to
"point anew all his spiritual artillery, and
"to propagate the doctrine of rebellion, and
"even of assassination, in order to subdue
"or terrify his enemies." And what pray
is this obligation? Is any thing that
binds the conscience to be understood by
it? any thing that is derived from the
principles of virtue and religion? Or rather,

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is it not that fort of obligation, which every ambitious and wicked tyrant has been uni der to maintain his usurped and oppressive power in every age of the world? that fort of obligation, which can never be pleaded in apology for the violation of the natural and acquired rights of men, or for the enormous acts of injustice and cruelty which have been any where perpetrated by the most corrupt and flagitious of the human race, in profecution of their favourite schemes of wealth and dominion? Such is the nature of that obligation which lay upon the Roman Pontiff; and in consequence of it, the ancient system was to be retained in all its parts, and the papal monarchy to be upheld, in all its strength and wide extent of authority. But was it not an usurped authority? Were not its grounds, when they were inquired. into, discovered to be extremely weak? and had not its exercise been destructive of the interests of religion and liberty, during a very long period of time? Yet it was to be upheld. And in what manner? "The "Roman Pontiff—was obliged to point " anew

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"anew all his spiritual artillery, and to pro"pagate the doctrine of rebellion, and even
"of assassination, in order to subduce or terrify
"his enemies." Hence indeed those "tu"mults of war" that were raised in some
countries, particularly in France, which
felt severely their dreadful effects.

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" PRIESTS jealous and provoked," adds our author, "timorous and uncontrolled, " directed all the councils of that feet, " and gave rife to fuch events as feem " aftonishing amid the mildness and hu-" manity of modern manners." Well may he fay fo. But how cool and languid is the fentiment and expression of the next paragraph? "The maffacre of Paris, that " of Ireland, the murder of the two Hen-" rys of France, the gunpowder-conspi-" racy in England, are memorable, though " temporary inftances"-of what?-" of " the bigotry of that superstition." Indeed? And is this all? Are we to talk of. this direful fubject, as if we were fpeaking of fome common effects of blind prejudice and foolish zeal? Is bigotry the characteriffic es ritatent T

racteristic of these acts of infernal wickedness; of these deeds of deliberate and detestable cruelty unknown to favage Tartars? And shall we affirm, as this author feems to do, that all those of the Roman-Catholic communion were animated by this spirit? No. In justice to truth, in justice to mankind, let it be acknowledged, that humanity itself reclaimed; and that thousands who belonged to that communion, abhorred those scenes of massacre and butchery:et factum execrantes, sic judicabant, nul-" lum fimilis fævitiæ exemplum in tota antiquitate, evolutis gentium annalibus, " reperiri." 'Tis the Prefident de Thou who fpeaks. He fpeaks of a great number of Catholics, and of the fentiments they entertained, concerning the maffacre which begun in Paris, which spread from thence through all the provinces of France (anno 1572), and in which twenty-five thousand persons are faid to have perished. "Ita " plerique disputabant, sicque existimase bant, facti hujus ratione nomen Galli-" cum olim invidia atque adeo infamia la-" boraturum, tantæque indignitatis posteracheriffic . " ritatem

" ritatem non immemorem futuram. Tunc " etiam, ne quid ad fummam infaniam deef-" fet, amulatione veterum imperatorum laus in tam detestando facinore questa: " nam cufi nummi argentei et aurei, regi-"que tertio non. Septembris oblati; in " quorum antica parte regis in throno fe-" dentis effigies depicta erat, cum inscrip-" tione, Virtus in rebelles; in postica duz "columnæ, quod erat regis infigne, cum "inscriptione, Pietas excitavit justitiam." "Pietas excitavit justitiam !"-Thus it is that impious and bloody wretches have dared to profane the venerable names of piety and justice. Law wish and I have a sound of the civil magifrate, in order to their

Our author's last paragraph relates to the court of inquisition, which he justly calls a "dreadful tribunal." And I would only further observe, on the whole of this subject, that, according to the strain of the above paragraphs, one would be apt to think, if he knew no better, that the tribunal of the inquisition, the doctrine of rebellion, and the merciles principles of persecution, together with all their shockoften

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ing consequences, had been then first known in the church of Rome; and that these horrible engines of manifold desolation were then first set in motion, when the reformation was likely to prevail in many parts of Europe. But the truth is, perfecution in every shape, and the doctrines of cruelty and tyranny in their full extent, had been long before that time but too well known, and, alas! but too often practifed in the Christian world; more especially, after the famous decree of the Lateran council, towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, which ordained, that all heretics should be delivered into the hands of the civil magistrate, in order to their fuffering that fort of death which was adjudged to herefy. Ecclefiaftical domination and perfecution have been always found infeparably united, and according to the growth of the former has the strength of the latter been powerfully exerted in its thinks of her knew not better, that tropquil

THE thunder of papal excommunication also had been often heard, and had been often

bund of the inquiscion, the doctrine, of

often terrible. In the end of the eleventh century, the Roman Pontiff began to pronounce his anathemas and fentences of deposition against monarchs, to absolve their fubjects from their allegiance, and to give up their kingdoms to the spoil of the first invader. The infamous example was frequently and fully imitated in fucceeding times; and almost all the western parts of Europe felt, in their turns, the confequences of this licentious tyranny.——Although the joint influence of bigotry and ignorance, of craft and power, did ftrongly counterwork the reformation, yet was its fuccess great. And in consequence of its establishment in different countries, and of the principles of knowledge and liberty which it hath diffused, even those nations which compose the Roman church have their burden lightened; while the papal court finds it necessary to treat them in a manner very different from that of its ancient pretentions and exercise of paramount authority. But this reminds me of what our author has faid about the state of learningy in the age of the reformation.

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" AT the fame time that the employed " the stake and gibbet against her avowed " enemies, the extended her jealoufy even " towards learning and philosophy, whom, 5 in her supine security, she had formerly " overlooked as harmless and inoffensive. "Hence the fevere check which know-" ledge received in Italy: hence its total " extinction in Spain : and hence the " flow progress which it made in France, "Germany, and England. From the ad-56 miration of ancient literature, from the " inquiry after new discoveries, the minds " of the studious were every where turned to polemical science; and in all schools " and academies, the furious controversies " of theology took place of the calm " disquisitions of learning." which minipole cher Roman oburran have

LEARNING and philosophy, it seems, had been hitherto indulged; but the indulgence was now to cease. It had never, I doubt, been very extensive; and the world had never reaped much of its fruit. One thing is certain, that freedom of thought in general had been of old regarded with

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an evil eye by the church of Rome; and that if any one was known to embrace any tenets different from those commonly received, if he did not keep exactly within the magic circle, if he advanced but a few steps beyond it; his progress was foon checked, and himself made sensible of his danger. Such freedom of inquiry had been formerly not a little perilous; but it became fo to a high degree, after the erect tion of the court of inquisition, whose authority was unlimited, and was so severely exercifed in the fouthern regions of Europe. Now the date of its erection preceded the æra of the reformation by three hundred years: and it is furely unnecessary to add, (for who does not know it?), that as its fettled rules of procedure are the reverle of justice and humanity, fo its principal and steady aim has always been, to inforce a blind fubmiffion to the established system, to guard against all innovations, and every thing that might introduce them; by confequence, to reprefs all generous freedom of fentiment among men. With the goodwill of those at Rome would this tribunal have

have been every where erected; but happily for mankind, the defign proved abortive. " She extended her jealoufy even "towards learning and philosophy. "Hence the fevere check which know-" ledge received in Italy : hence its total extinction in Spain," &c. It would have been well, if this author had informed us what was that philosophy which had been "formerly overlooked as harmless," and was now feverely checked in Italy; which was heretofore known, and was now extinguished in Spain. For my own part, I never heard of any kind of philosophy in Spain that is not yet to be found there; nor of any very fevere check that true philofophy met with in Italy, unless in the instance of Galileo. To fay truth, in the ages preceding the reformation, land even during the fixteenth century itself, the church of Rome had not much occasion to interrupt the progress of true philosophy; for this plain reason, because what was then called by that name did not at all deferve it. No great genius had as yet arisen in Europe, to open the path of philosophy, to Synd give

give a general survey of its different regions, and to disclose the right method of philosophising. This was an honour reserved to an English name; to the rich, the penetrating, and creative genius of a Bacon; from whom, and from whose age true philosophy may date at least her restoration to change the metaphor, by whom the soundations of that structure were laid, which has been carried on with surprising strength and beauty, by those great master-builders that have appeared since his time, and in particular in his own country.

THERE is indeed a spurious kind of phid losophy, which was formerly, and is to this day, reputed in the church of Rome quite is harmless and inoffensive; the old Aristotelian system I mean; of which, together with an insusion of the subtilty of the Arabians, who revived it in Europe in the twelfth century, is made up what is called the philosophy of the schools. The voluminous commentaries too of those termed angelical and seraphic doctors; are not to be forgotten. This is the philosophy that

has been much favoured, and has long flourished amongst them, without receiving any the leaft check or controul, fo far as I remember: whose principles, fuch as they are, and whose dialectic art and metaphysical jargon have been for often employed in defence of a corrupt and irrational theology. This is the chimerical learning and bewildering philosophy, which, for political reafons, has not only been indulged, but all along countenanced by the Popish church. The progress of true philosophy too, lin fome of its branches, may be connived at in one nation, where the papal yoke is less burdensome! ano But the advancement of found knowledge must be always dreaded and its contrould is truly connatural to the dark, the bigotted, and fervile spirit of Rotelian fystem I mean; of which, tyrado?

with an infulion of the fubrilty of the AraadTHE following paragraphs concludes our author's speculations on this subject. "From the admiration of ancient literature, from 15 the inquiry after new discoveries, the minds of the fludious were every where "turned to polemical science; and, in " all

" all schools and academies, the furious "controverfies of theology took place of " the calm disquisitions of learning." We have just now faid what fort of philosophy flourished at that time; and I would defire this historian to name but one university, any one school of learning in Europe, where any thing different was then to be found. As the knowledge of ancient literature was beginning to be revived, fo the state of things made it necessary for its friends to apply much of their labour to the fubordinate fervices of criticism and philology, while they endeavoured to pave the way to the study of the Greek and Roman writers. And in all the parts of this work, the Protestants very early and very largely affifted. Nay, these same "controversies of " theology," with which this author is fo much offended, quickened the progress of erudition; which, without them, I doubt, would have been exceedingly flow. They did, in truth, interrupt those "disquisitions "of learning" which were carried on (though, by the way, not always in the calmest manner) by the ingenious professors of Boidet

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of metaphysics, and the reverend doctors of the canon law, in their universities. What a piteous case, that they should have been roused from their peaceful lethargy! or else, obliged to quit the study of those momentous questions in which they were engaged, and to transfer their thoughts to the consideration of doctrines relative to the faith, the worship and practice of Christians!— If their debates were managed in a "fu-"rious," or even in any indecent way, the fault was theirs.

the full ordinate fewlers of criticism and pini-

Thus, my friend, have I gone through all that is contained in this remarkable paffage of Mr Hume's hiftory, (a short hint concerning the influence of learning in ancient Greece excepted); and have made such observations on it as appeared to me well founded. As you will, by this time, pretty fully know them, it is unnecessary for me any further to declare, what are my sentiments about the strain of the narrative, the history of facts, the exhibition of characters, the oblique hints, the reasonings, and conclusions which we find in it. The

Let. V. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 137

fubject is of importance: his misrepresentations, I think, are gross; and my remarks are before you.

AFTER all this attention to church-history, I shall leave you to relax yourself for some time in studies of a more agreeable kind, and shall take my leave with subscribing myself, &c.

done The flame zent hade been ever linge exicited in Ropidly countries; where, as I had occasion, already, to objects), too-many diffuse conque to maintain the craphe of ignorming and discourse over the minds of aniltittdes: "In slike manner, a variesy, of cir--Trade decemented of old, in the ideal cathen world, the the support of idolator, which provided in the civilized notions, no less than in those successive ed thy arts and letters of The public religion and the civil politic both of their Greeks and Romans ward plotely suited, and formed a fellem rehold for earl-pure had a mutual depend, bus salqioning of The Anadio rine and the principle of idolatry obtained every where relation could the documes or philosopy produce

intriect is of importance; his mifrepresentantly the thirty I thirty I de TroisT all the re-

marks are before you'll said, said should

HE revival of learning in Europeis und had furely great influence in diffufing the knowledge of true religion but the friends of ancient superstition were not a little folicitous to weaken this influence, and to defeat the purpose of the reformation. The fame zeal hath been ever fince exerted in Popish countries; where, as I had occasion already to observe, too many things concur to maintain the empire of ignorance and bigotry over the minds of multitudes. In like manner, a variety of circumstances concurred of old, in the Heathen world, for the support of idolatry, which prevailed in the civilized nations, no less than in those uncultivated by arts and letters. The public religion and the civil polity both of the Greeks and Romans were closely united, and formed a fystem whose several parts had a mutual dependence on each other. The principles and practice of idolatry obtained every where; neither could the doctrines of philosophy produce

produce any important change: another and higher interpolition was requilite; and foon perceive that behindle smit subani raw feeted We are therefore obliged to con-

have faid, in the close of my last letter, that in one of our author's paragraphs, there was a hint at the influence of philosophy in ancient Greece, which I have not yet confidered. We find it in the paffage following. It might have been hoped, that "learning and knowledge, as of old in "Greece, stealing in gradually, would have "opened the eyes of men, and corrected "fuch of the ecclefialtical abuses as were "the groffest and most burdensome." To render the parallel complete, he should have told us, what were those "burdensome ab-" uses that were corrected of old in Greece," by the gradual introduction of learning; and who were the persons among the Heathen priefts that exercifed a civil tyranny, and laid claim to an "exorbitant power," in that country; whether, for instance, the high priest of Jupiter at Elis, or some one of his brethren elsewhere. The subject of which he treats, and the whole train

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train of his ideas, would naturally lead our thoughts to fuch inquiries; but we may foon perceive that all this is an imaginary fcene. We are therefore obliged to conclude that fomething elfe is intended and indeed he feems to me to affirm, that when learning fpread through Greece, the folly of idolatry was discovered, and its empire broken; and that it was reasonable to look for a fimilar effect from a fimilar cause, in relation to the gross superstitions of Popery. But then you will observe, that a more enlarged view of the reformation is thus opened to us, than our author is willing to give in his general description of it; a view which is not confined to the redrefs of ecclefiaftical abuses, and the repression of papal domination, but which reaches to the concerns of faith and religion.

Now, though it is not effential to the general purpose of these letters, you will give me leave to enter a little into this subject, and to inquire into the influence of philosophy upon the established religion of Greece:

Let. VI. Mr Hume's History. 161

Greece t a digression, I hope, which will not be unentertaining open as well a more blued, and obtained of the content of the

In this research we need not go higher than the age of Pythagoras; as before his time philosophy was but little known in Greece. That nation had received from Syria and Egypt the system of idolatry; which, by their additions and various infufions, became still more perplexed and irrational. The original scheme contained in it the worship of sun, moon, and stars; and to this they superadded the worship of their deceafed lawgivers and princes, whom they called heroes. Some of these were honoured with the names of this and the other deified part of nature. The stories of the former were mingled with the operations of the latter. Thus were they blended in the writings of the poets; and all this medley composed the popular religion of the Greeks. The knowledge of the ancient system was probably preserved in the Eleufinian and Samothracian myfteries; but this was a recondite theology, known only to a few, while others blindly revered anition

revered the public tenets and rites of fuperstition. It was impossible, that they who merited the name of philosophers, should approve of these in their own thoughts, however they might decline to express their diffent and displeasure. Besides, even but a flight regard to virtue must have rendered them averse from those doctrines and tales. by which vice in its different forms was countenanced and patronifed. But the whole scheme was highly acceptable to the groß understandings and corrupt passions of men, whilft, through all this chaos of deplorable ignorance, philosophy shed but a glimmering and feeble light. ad ballso would bonoured with the names of this and the

MANY excellent things are to be met with in the Pythagoric doctrine and precepts. At prefent we have to do only with the tenets which concern religion. It is disputed, whether this philosopher held matter to be an eternal principle; but that he ascribed the formation of the world to the self-existent God, the Lord of earth and heaven, is beyond all dispute. He likewise professed his belief of subordinate revered deities,

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deities, to whom he injoined religious worfhip to be paid. "The supreme God," fays one of his disciples, "is not to be perceived by fight, but by mind alone: yet " his works, and the effects of his energy, " may be difcerned and felt by all manwkind. There is indeed one God most " high, who ruleth over all: and many " other gods besides subordinate to him, " who is their Lord, and is supreme in " power, majesty, and moral excellence *." This also is the doctrine of Timæus Locrus, who thus expresses himself. "By mind a-"lone can we differn the eternal God, the "Lord and Father of all things; and with " our bodily eyes we fee his works, this " world, and all its parts." He proceeds to fpeak of the fun, moon, earth, and stars; and concludes with afferting, that the government of the universe is carried on by the inferior deities in subordination to him,

X 2

who

Το μεν εν Δεός άυτος, θτε όρατος, θτε άισθυτος, άλλα λόγω ε νόω θεωρατός. τα ή εργαάυτω ε πράξεις εναργέες ε, ε αισθυτά εντι πάντισσεν άνθρωποις δοκώ δε μοι ε μπ με ειμέν ο θεός, άλλα με μεν ο μέγισος ε καθ ύπέρτερος, ε ο κρατίων τυ πανίος οι δε άλλοι πολλοι διαφέροντες κατα δύναμιν. Βασιλέυω δε πάντων αύτων ο ε κράτω, ε μεγέθω, ε άρετα μώζων. Onatus ap. Stobæum, lib. 1.

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who is the supreme and almighty Lord*, Accordingly, the first direction that is given in the golden verses of Pythagoras, relates to the worship of the immortal gods and heroes.

remain he efficeeded and felt bush ad were

ANAXAGORAS, who was of the Ionic fect, feems to have entertained very different thoughts, while he spoke of the self-existent God as the creator and governor of the world, without mentioning either celestial or terrestrial gods. But on this account he was charged with Atheism; and neither his own great character, nor the power of Pericles could save him from the resentment of the Athenians, who imposed on him a fine, and pronounced a sentence of banishment against him ‡.

ODW

Θεον δέ τὸν μὲν αἰώνιον νόος ὁρῆ μόνος των ἀπάνων ἀρχαγὸν καὶ γενίτορα τυτεων τὸν δὲ γεννατὸν ὅψει ὁρίομες, κόσμον τι τόνδε καὶ τὰ μερια ἀυτῶ — οῖς ὁ πάντων ἀγεμών δεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησα κόσμω συμπιτληρωμένω ἐκ δεων τε καὶ ἀνδρώπων, τωντε ἄλλων ζώων. Τimæus Locrus de anima mundi.

[†] Adardrue mir spēra dede, rome de bidienrai, Tima, y olfs oprov,

[†] Diog. Laert. in vita Anaxag.—Plutarch. in Pericle.
—Plat. de leg. lib. 10.—Epin, p. 1010.

THEY went further, you know, in the case of Socrates. That eminent person shewed his zeal at all times against the principles of irreligion. In His two illustrious disciples, Plato and Xenophon, have fully opened this part of his character of How beautiful, for instance, is his discourse with Aristodemus in the writings of Xenophon? He leads him on gradually to the acknowledgment of a Deity, and a providence, by fetting before him the marks of divine wifdom, goodness, and power, impressed on all his works; and which may be particularly discerned in the structure of the human body, and in the use and arrangement of its various fenses and members. He goes on to speak of the soul and its faculties; the attentive confideration of which naturally directs our thoughts upwards to the fource of all intelligence and wifdom. But the supreme God is unrevealed to mortal eye, and we do not fee the ministers of his providence; " neither do we fee thefe " fouls of ours, which animate our bodies. " and whose agency we feel every moment. " Learn therefore," adds he, "that as

" your

" your mind directs the motions of the " body according to its pleafure, fo the fovereign wisdom, which presides over the world, regulates all things therein, according to its counfels. If your eye can "reach to objects at a great distance, why will you not allow that the eye of God "can reach at once through the whole "creation? As you can attend to the concerns of the Greeks both at home and abroad, may you not well admit, that " the wifdom of God is abundantly fuffiscient to take care of all things in this " great universe? If you follow after piety, you shall foon be perfuaded, that fuch plenitude of perfection belongs to the Divinity, as that he fees all things, hears "all things, is present in all places, and "Ifuperintendeth all events * " aborib wiler fource of all intelligence and wildom. But

THESE doubtless are rational and worthy sentiments, which he uniformly inculcated. Xenophon tells us, that he was present at a conversation of his with one Euthydemus,

Οὐ γὰρ όρω τὰς χυρίας ἄσπερ των ἐνθάδε γινομένων τὰς δημιαργάς, & ε. Xen. mem. Socr. lib. 1.

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in which he laboured to establish the truth of divine providence. He fet before him the various effects of heavenly bounty in the viciflitude of day and night, in the regular return of seasons, in the destination of animals to the use of man, in our being formed for fociety and its pleafing intercourse; and, in general, from the survey of the effects of goodness and wisdom he would raise his mind to the contemplation of the original Author. He then speaks of subordinate deities, and of the honour and worship to be paid them. "They," adds he, "are our " benefactors, though we see them not; and " he who framed, and who maintains the "mundane system in its harmonious order, is " visible in his administration, though in his " effence unfeen. Even the fun, who appears " conspicuous to all, will not permit us flea-" dily to gaze upon his light.-The human " mind, which has in it fomething divine, " and whose energy we experience, is in " itself invisible: thus also with regard to " wind and thunder, whose amazing " force we plainly perceive. And if one " confiders all this attentively, he will not be bnA

the apt to different those things which if are unseen; but, by the sensible effects of power and goodness, will be excited to the acknowledgment and worship of so Deity.*

Twis is the train of his reasoning; and thus did he inculcate the fundamental truths of religion on the minds of those with whom he conversed. Neither were his ideas of the divine government confined to this life; they reached forward to a future state of rewards and punishments. That the foul furvived the diffolution of the body, and would enter into that state after death, was a point on which he laid great stress: and he endeavoured to confirm it by a variety of arguments deduced from the nature of the foul, from the perfections of God, and from the justice and benignity of his administration. His fentiments on morals are well known; on justice, temperance, honesty, benevolence, and, in general, on the virtues and duties of the focial life. "force we plainly perceive. And if one

Orre pap annos vato ra apasa dedictes, &c. Id. 116. 4. 100

And let it be remarked by the way, that the principles of piety not only entered into his fystem of morals, but were closely interwoven with its several branches. There indeed we find no such unnatural disjunction of virtue and religion, as is to be seen in certain schemes of philosophy published, heretofore and of late, for the instruction of the Christian world, and which, in many instances, fall far below the standard of Pagan morals.

It is plain too, that Socrates was extremely offended at the ancient poets, on account of their monstrous tales concerning their gods, which were so favourably received by the multitude, and on which so many public rites of superstition had been grafted. He frequently and openly declared his opinion on this subject; and thereby gave his adversaries an advantage against him, which they failed not to improve. It must however be acknowledged, that he did not reject the notion of subordinate deities; or rather, that he warmly adhered to it. This is every where manifest in the writings

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of Xenophon and Plato. As to the gods whose worship was publicly established, he certainly had opinions very different from those of poetic tradition, and popular belief. But it is likewise true, that he joined in their worship according to its prescribed rites, and recommended the same practice to his friends; approving the oracle of the Pythian Apollo, which ordains the gods to be honoured in the manner appointed by the laws of the country*. Let us sufpend our reslections for a little, till we have spoken of his disciple Plato, who gave name to the most celebrated sect of philosophy among the Greeks.

His general principles of theology were the fame with those now mentioned. He appears anxious to support the effential articles of natural religion, and with just ar-

deterfaries an advantage

⁻ ἐπὰ θύοντά γε με ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐορταῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσιῶν βωμῶν, ἡ οι ἄλλοι οι παρατυγχανόντες ἐώρων, ἡ Βυτὸς Μέλιτος, ἐι ἢ βύλετο. Χεπορh. Apol. Soc.

δρας γάρ, δτι δ έν Δελφοϊς Θεός, δταν τις άυτον ἐπέρωτα, πῶς ἄν τοῖς Θεοῖς χαρίζοιτο, ἀποκρίψεται, Νόμω πόλεως. Χεπορή. Memor. Soc. lib. 4.

ήτε γὰρ Πυθια νόμω πόλεως αναιρεί ποιθντας εὐσεβως ἄν ποιείν. Σωκράτος τὰ θτω ၌ ἀυτὸς ἐποία, ၌ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήνα. Id. lib. 1.

dor does he every where declare against the tenets of impiety. When we attend to many passages which relate to the existence, the perfections, the providence, and government of God, we must allow, that in them he has thought and spoke worthily of these exalted themes. The existence of a first and intelligent cause is proved from the frame of nature, from the passive inactivity of matter, from the aftonishing effects of confummate wifdom and power difcernible through all his works, from the nature of the human mind, and from the confent of all nations to this fundamental truth *. His ideas of the divine excellency may be feen in the following expressions. " It can be faid only of God, that he is wife. " --- He is the fovereign of heaven and " earth. The maker and father of the " universe,-who gave being to the earth, " the heavens, and all things in the vifible " and invisible regions.—The eternal God. " -Almighty .- Perfect in knowledge and

" wifdom,

Plat. Philebus, p. 381. ed. Ficini. - Epinomis, p. 1009. -Repub. lib. 7. p. 702.—De leg. lib. 10. p. 945.— 951. De leg. lib. 12. p. 998, 99. et alibi. ocefent

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- " wisdom,-by whose will and power, all
- " nature, even the highest order of be-
- "ings, is upheld.-Juft.-Good-Good
- " in the highest degree.—The source of
- " all good, and for whom are all
- " things *." has relations and order

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In the dialogue intitled Timeus, he speaks of the generation of this world, and of its having been raised out of a chaos; of that goodness which prompted the Deity to call it into being; and of the glorious exertion of his power and wisdom in its production, and in the arrangement of all its parts, according to the perfect plan which he had formed. He goes on to re-

present

Το μεν σοφον, & Φαίδρε, καλείν, εμοιγε μέγα είναι δοκεί, ε διε μόνω αρέπειν. Phædeus, p. 1243 — βασιλεύς έρανε και γες. Phileb p. 381. δ ποιπτίς ε πατήρ τε δε τε παντός. Τίπ. p. 1047. — ο ε τα εκ τές γες φυόμενα απαντα ποιεί, ε ζωα πάντα εργάζεται — ε πρός τύτοις γεν, καὶ δρανόν, καὶ διώς, καὶ πάντα τα εν έρανεί, καὶ τα εν εδυ ύπο γες απαντα εργάζεται. Rep. lib. 10. p. 749. — ὅντος ἀιὰ λογισμός διεί. Τίπ. 1049. — ἀυτοκράτωρ, Cratyl. p. 283. — τε ερανε δημιυργός, Rep. lib. 7. p. 702. — τε δε ορονείν, ε τε γενομενα αλιυται εμέγε δελοντος, το. Τίπ. p. 1054. — δικαιός, paffim. — αγαδός, paffim. — ὁ αρισός, — ἀγαδός δημίυργός, — ὁ δε αρισος των αίτιων, Τίπ. p. 1047. των μεν εὐ εχίντων, των μεν αγαδών αιτιου, Rep. lib. 2. p. 605. Epin. p. 1006. — καὶ εκείνος αιτιον απάντων των κάλων, Ep. 2. — καὶ εκείνοι είνεια πάντα, lb. et Epin. 1011.

present the world as animated, and to talk of superior intelligences, which are supposed to have been employed as ministers to the supreme, in some portions of the workmanship of nature; and on him they are absolutely dependent.

THERE are many noble passages in his works relative to the divine government. Mankind is confidered as in a degenerate Rate. Plato's doctrine concerning the pre-existence of souls is known to all. The individuals of our race are regarded as intelligent creatures, fubjects of moral government, capable of virtue and vice, not bound up by fate or ftrong necessity, but endowed with a freedom of will or power of choice; and therefore, who are accountable for all their actions, and may expect a proper retribution from the wife, the just, and good ruler of the universe; They may behave extremely amis, and may be fornetimes apt to impute their fins and their mifery to him : but God is not in blame; they themselves are the guilty authors of their wickedness and ruin. From thould punishment,

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punishment, either in this or the future state, they cannot possibly escape. The wicked and unholy are unlike to God; they turn aside from the divine law, are disapproved and abandoned by him, and shall receive a punishment proportionable to the demerit of their crimes.—Not only is moral evil acknowledged, but its prevalence is lamented: the liberty of the human will, the good and bad defert of actions is affirmed, and the governing justice of the Deity is afferted, who in all his counsels and ways has ever the wisest and best ends in view *.

THESE, if I am not mistaken, are the genuine sentiments of Plato; and they were employed not only to dissuade and deter from a vitious, but likewise to recommend and enforce a virtuous conduct. It is but natural that the friends of virtue

punifnment

Ilidy may behave extremely abile, and

should

κας ος ίξει. άιτία έλομένυ. Βεὸς άναίτιος. De rep. lib. 10. p. 763.— ἐ γάρ ἐαυτόν αἰτιᾶσθαι τῶν κακῶν, άλλα τύχην τε ἢ δαίμονας, ἢ πάντα μᾶλλον ἀνὰ ἔαυτον, Ib. p. 764.— Τῶ δε δεω ἀκὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη τῶν απολοπομένῶν τυ δεὰυ νόμυ τίμωρος — But the proud, the ambitious, and the sensual man, καταλείπεται έρημος δεῦν. De leg. lib. 4. p. 831.

should be the friends of religion; upon whose principles the strictest and fullest moral obligation is established, and from whence too are derived motives the best adapted to operate upon the hopes and fears of mankind.

AFTER all it must be owned, though with pain, that this philosopher embraced the scheme of subordinate gods. He speaks every where of fun, moon, and stars, as animated, and of the worship due to them; whilst he is much displeased with Anaxagoras, who was not of his fentiments in this matter *. He proceeds a step further, and injoins the worship of ethereal demons, who are confidered as beings of inferior dignity, who attend to the actions and prefide over the concerns of men; to whom therefore prayers, facrifices, and thanksgivings were to be offered. And this worship, in its full extent, is admitted into his speculative plan. of a well-constituted republic. Nay, he there appoints, that each day in the year

^{*} De leg. lib. 10. p. 946. Epin. p. 210. Apol. Soc. p. 21.

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should be dedicated to one or other of the celestial gods, or ethercal and terrestrial demons; to whom sacrifices were to be daily presented by the magistrate, who was to pray for himself, his citizens, and the interests of the state.

Now, the refult of all this is plainly no other, than that the doctrines of this philofophy, which, upon the whole, was the
best that ever the Greeks knew, were not
at all unfavourable to idolatry and superstition; on the contrary, they tended to
maintain them. True indeed, that it
despised the stories of the poets, that it
abhorred their literal sense, and would have
them considered either as false and soolish,
or as the corruptions of ancient mythology;
but the general principles were espoused,
on which the system of idolatry was
founded.

It has been often faid, that the light of philosophy could be but of little effect on the national religion of the Greeks; because whatever might be their opinions, yet

yet the philosophers did not much differ from others in their practice, and complied with all public rites. The reasoning is good, but the facts are not stated, as I think, with fufficient precision; and the characters of these men are, in one respect, more exposed to censure than they seem to deferve. Had they been of opinion, that it was folly to talk of celestial and ethereal deities, and of erecting temples and offering up to them prayers and facrifices, undoubtedly their compliance with the religion of their country in its external forms, would have been, in that case, downright hypocrify. And whilft some imputed this behaviour of theirs to pufillanimity, as though they had been afraid to avow the truth; others, willing to judge more mildly, might have aftribed it to a general reverence of religion, and the laws of their country, mingled with a perfuation that the vulgar were not susceptible of a more pure and rational model of worthip. But, in my apprehenfion, this imputation, and this apology, have been carried a great deal too far. Socrates, Xenophon, Plato, and all the disciples

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disciples of the Socratic or Platonic school, gave their affent to the doctrine of inferior gods, and thought worship due to them, according to their feveral degrees of dignity and beneficence. They professed this opinion; and they did so without the least degree of diffimulation. As to the worship of ethereal demons, and terrestrial gods, (the fouls of men departed, who had been princes and lawgivers); they were certainly highly shocked at the fables of Orpheus, Homer, and Hefiod, concerning them; which they confidered not only as unfeemly and abfurd, but as of the most pernicious influence on the morals of those who unhappily entertained them. They wished for a proper correction of these; and that nothing mean, unjust, exorbitant, or cruel, should be imputed to those beings who were the objects of their veneration. This was the change at which they aimed; and if this had been obtained, they would not have been displeased, in all appearance, with the remaining idolatrous fabric. Some of them possibly kept off from those particular ceremonies which were grounded on the literal

disciples

ral meaning of fabulous flory; and perhaps, in the worship of their national gods, they affixed to them ideas and characters quite different from those which were framed and received by the bulk of mankind: but still they cannot, I doubt, be entirely acquitted of diffimulation in their compliance with established rites. How far this may admit of an apology, from what has been mentioned above, I shall not now inquire. One thing is certain, that from these principles, and this practice, no great change in the frame of their national religion was to be expected. It had been all along interwoven with their civil polity; its antiquity foread around it an air of reverence; it was adapted to the superstitious bias of the minds of men; was highly recommended by its fplendid ceremonies and numerous festivals; and was further guarded by the authority and fanctions of their laws. For even these Greeks, with all their noble fense of liberty, and at that period of time in which they had the warmest sense of it, would not however fuffer any one to condemn the public fystem; and far less, openly Z 2

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openly to spread the tenets of Atheism; or if he ventured to do fo, it was at his extreme peril. Hay has as the moint on hyvins

Harris Telephone State State States States ALL these things considered, it would feem most probable, that although the doctrines of philosophy had been, what they cannot be faid to have been, of the pureft kind, yet they would have produced no considerable change in the general state of religion. Need I say how ineffectual its precepts were for the reformation of a corrupt world? On many accounts they were not, they could not be of much influence here. But what no human means could possibly do, was effected by the interpolition of heaven, and by the light and grace of Christianity. By these was the rule of ignorance and idolatry overthrown: by means of these was an unexpected, a salutary and important change produced; while multitudes in different regions, became the willing subjects of the kingdom of truth and righteousness: so mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed; and by its blifsful effects, and marvellous progress, was openly

its heavenly original ascertained. -- But to return. Having faid fo much of the Platonic, I need not spend many words about the Aristotelian, and the Stoical philofophy; to both which what has been now observed, is fully applicable. The Stoics, in particular, laboured to affix the mythological fense to the tales concerning Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, and the rest of their gods, as though these were expressive of the relations, energies, and mutual dependence of the feveral parts of nature. In this allegorical manner did they explain them; and with this correction the fyftem of polytheifm was perfectly conforant to the principles of their theology.

But there is another fect of philosophy that has not been yet mentioned, whose prevalence was likely to overturn that fystem. " It might have been hoped, that learning " and knowledge, as of old in Greece, " stealing in gradually, would have open-" ed the eyes of men, and corrected," &c. I am unwilling to think, that our historian had his eye upon that particular fect at which asmud

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which I now point; as indeed it would appear ridiculous for one to speak of the introduction of "learning and knowledge," and to mean the gradual progress of the Epicurean philosophy, or the scheme of Atheism. The dreaming dotage of Democritus, from whom Epicurus derived his monstrous plan, had been formerly arraigned by true philosophy, and condemned as equally irrational and impious. Selfexistent matter fortuitously moved, hence the entire separation of some of its parts, and the endless combination of the rest,and from all the inconceivable medley this universe fomebow broke forth in its glorious form and perfect order, not by the energy and direction of mind and counsel, but by the operations of nature and chance. This is the short view which Plato gives of that scheme, in his tenth book of laws. And is this what one would call an account of the origin of this great world? a philosophical account of the birth of nature? And could one gravely pour out fuch miserable stuff, and dignify it with the name of philosophy? What an infult on the which human human understanding! Fortuitous motions, fecretions, combinations Uniformity, beauty, and order, fpringing up, one does not know bow nor why: If this is sense and philosophy, what then is extravagance and folly? "Does he merit the name of man, " who, after having viewed the stated " and invariable motions of the heavens, " the regular arrangements of the stars, " and the nice connection and harmony " which reign throughout the universe, " shall notwithstanding maintain, that all " this is the effect of blind chance, and " not the work of reason; though the " wisdom by which they are conducted, " far exceeds the power of the human " mind to comprehend * ?" The Roman philosopher, who speaks in the name of Balbus the Stoic, in the passage referred to, goes on to refute the impious scheme, and

[&]quot; Quis enim hunc hominem dixerit, qui cum tam certos coeli motus, tam ratos astrorum ordines, tamque omnia inter se connexa et apta viderit, neget in his ullam inesse rationem, eaque casu sieri dicat, quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus?"

Cic. de nat. deor. lib. 2. The sense of this passage is expressed in the words of a late translation.

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for chipms, combined shappy and providence. Some mobiles beauty, and order, innaging up, one does

THE very name of philosophy is difgraced, when these persons pretend to be her disciples, whose avowed tenets are not only subversive of the first principles of reason, but lead to the extinction of all religion, and spread a mournful gloom over the mind of man, and indeed over the whole face of nature. The corruption of mankind is great: yet the Atheiftical principle cannot prevail. There is fomething in the human foul which strongly opposes its entrance: it has always been, and ever will be fo. Thus it was even amidft all the difinal darkness of the Heathen world; and I doubt whether it be possible to destroy the innate feeling. It may be weakened, but cannot, I believe, be extirpated. At any rate, upon supposition that the Epicurean or irreligious scheme had prevailed amongst the Greeks, we could only have deplored their wretched state, who had rushed from one extreme into another, from idolatry and superstition into the the still more absurd tenets, and melancholy prospects of Atheism. But this must have been in consequence of the extinction of all true learning and wisdom, whose conclusions must be ever favourable to the grand truths and interests of religion. And with these truths and interests the doctrine and practice of sound morals are intimately connected: they stand or fall together.

It was heretofore observed by Plato, that the irreligious plan was peculiarly acceptable to men of profligate manners, whose vitious and debauched dispositions powerfully stimulated them to embrace it *. From this quarter indeed has its highest recommendation been all along derived, as libertine principles will always give full indulgence to licentious morals. The confederacy is of ancient date, and it still subsists.—When there is a strong bias in the soul to one side of a question, even a slight difficulty may be made to assume the form of an important objection. A few of

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Axpareia idovov te g înidumior îni tou doish sion opmardus tas Auxas dutor. De leg. lib. 10. p. 945, et alibi.

these put together, and frequently reviewed, will still more darken the subject, till at length the mind may be unhappily feduced into fuch a flate of uncertainty, even as to the plainest and most momentous truths, as shall be, in its nature and effects, but little different from a total rejection of them. Purity of manners in fome degree, together with a fincere love of truth, and a diligent attention to it, were qualifications required of the disciples in the Pythagoric and Platonic schools, by their illustrious founders; for they well judged, that the opposite character and temper were inconfiftent with the right fludy of religion and morality. Happy they, whose aims are wise and good, and whose researches are properly conducted. May this happiness, my friend, be ours. Our holy religion invites to a free and full, but let it be likewise an unprejudiced and candid inquiry. It cannot furely be expected, that less should be required of us, than was required of those who purposed of old to enter upon the study of philosophy: and we are affured, from the highest authority, that the best preparative

preparative for the knowledge of religious truth, is an upright defire of conformity to True religion also must lever its dictates. disclaim an alliance with ignorance and implicit belief. These may be made use of as the pillars of idolatry and superstition; and too long did they uphold the unwieldy fabric in the Christian church. The Protestant faith, in distinction from the Popish scheme, would lean on no such support: on the contrary, as it is grounded on the right of private judgment, fo it tends to advance the interests of truth and learning in the world. And as that which formerly deserved the name of philosophy, may be confidered as a mean betwirt the system of impiety and that of gross popular superstition; so the Protestant faith interposes betwixt the manifold corruptions of true religion in the Popish plan on the one hand, and the uncomfortable and unnatural principles of infidelity on the other. If we confider things in this light, we shall have no improper view of the reformed religion; and at the same time, several reflections will readily occur, that are little honour-Aa 2

able either to the partifant of Popery, or to the friends and patrons of modern infidelity: of a noinier religion allo avidentificates

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Quotations that refer to p. 165, ____ 176.

plicit belief. These may be made use of

Of pair old the suppley dramp that indial production the deplayτός. Εδί γαρ την ίαυτο σύγε ψοχήν όρδο, ή το σφιατός χυρία isiv. phones - & past, but narquare to be determention of the obs μα όπως βύλεται, μεταχαρίζεται, διεσθαι ούν χρή & την έν παντί φρόon the narra, brot or durn is it, out a ristorali. I win to oil we Space Hearthan their francis out of the distriction of the order poly άδύνατον έναι άμα πάντα όρᾶν. μπδί τὸν σὸν μεν ψυχὸν, ၌ περί τῶν Ανδάδι, ၌ περί τῶν εν Αίγνοστφ, ၌ ἐν Σεκλές δύνασθαι φροντίζειν, τὸν-St 15 And promon gan france France dans Araberra despensiones by prin τοι γνώση τό διάση, ότι τοσύτου & τοιϋτόν ἐςι, ἄσθ' ἄμα πάντα όραν, & πάντα ακύδιος & πάνταχῦ παράναι, & ἄμα πάντων ἐπιμελάσθαι conneced as a mean heath most men as a barahino

Όττι γάρ άλλοι ήμε τὰ ἀγαθὰ διδόντις, ἐδὲν τύτων ὡς τὸ ἐμφανές τις διδόασιν ἡ δ τον δλον πόσμον συντάττων τὰ ἡ συνέχων, ἐν ῷ πάνment of that the total and priving all redition bolders, total δικονομών άδρατος ήμεν ές ιν. έννόμι δε ότι ε δ πάσι φανερός δοκών είναι πλιός όκ επιτρέπει τοις άνθρωποις έαυτον άκριβως όραν. άλλα εάν τις derirational in and and and the the spanetral of and which άνθρώπε γε ψυχό, ἄπέρ τι ξ αλό των άνθρωπίνων το θάο μετέχει. ori per yap Batilities er hair parepor. oparas de up aurn. a xon xagrapourte mi carragioner the dopates, date to have propulsion the Idiaμιν άνταν χαταμανθάνοντα, τιμάν το Δαιμόνιον. Id lib. 4.

Dixes apparor pley reta knodboere ore neways & handave exarepos avroy diet drit .-- i de pet nort derron d pet benenite de da, & de Βεομισής. — το δε Βεοφιλα ύχ' δμολοφήσομεν, δοά γε άπο Βεων γίγνεται, Βάντα γίγνο Βαι τις οιδινές άρκα; το μη τι άναγκατον άυτο κακόν εκ speripus interpries with your Fo a good man every ontward exil de τό άμελαται δε αν προθυμασθαι εθέλη δίκαιος γεγνεσθαι, ε επιτεδείων άρετην, ως δσον δυνατόν άνθρώπω όμοιμσθαι θεδ. — έκαν περι τυ άδικυ τ' αναττά τύτων δα δεκνοδισθείε; De repub. lib. 10. p. 760 et De leg. lib. 5. p. 842.

Tov Te adiuntatur didores dixas. Phado, p. 81.

Total adiunt & adius, de to the riotuste & dixes dispuscipior lival arethnores adde. The sporinores ad-

σχει. Gorg. p. 356.

οδ μερε άναι τουετάν διαρώπεις μακαμίες το ξ δεδώμεδι βολόδος πλην δλίγων, μίχρι περ αν ζώμεν, τύτο διορίζομαι, Θεί Ερίπ. p. 1003Καιά δε γι πολύ πλείω ποιυσιν ή άγαλα παιτις άνθρωποι, έρξαν

teltants, and concerning them with problem in man

Ούν άρα πάντωνγε ώντιον το Αχαθόν, άλλα των μέν το εχώντων μέν του, των δι κακών αναίτιον.— ου άρα δ θεός επωδαν άγαθος, πάντων αναίτιος, το δι πολικά Μίγων, άλλα δώγων μέν τος άνθρωποις άιτιος, πολλών δι αναίτιος, πολλό χώρ έλαττο τ' αγαθό τόν των κάν πμίν. ε των μέν άγαθών μότια άλλον κιτιατέον, τώνδι κακών άλλ έντα δώ (ογών τὰ Μέτω) κάλ δ τόν θένο. Το καλ ίδ. 2. ος συξ.

These passages (and there are many to the same passage) have a plain and determinate meaning; according to which some others that are diffi-

cult and intricate ought to be explained.

Θείς γαρ αν τους όρασος, μεγίνου ή τιμευτώνες, η δύνατον όραντας κας καντη — μετα δε τύτυς, η ύνο τύτυς εξής δαιμουας, άεριον δε γύος, Ωλο Εδράδιο δρίτου ή μέση της έρμηθας αιτίου, ευ γαίς τιμαν μάτα χρεόν, χύριν της ευγήμο διανοριάς. — μετίχοντα εξ φονήστος δαυμασής — γιγνώσκου μεν σύμπασαν την ύμετίραν ώντα διώνους καθάμες η του Μαλον Ιμών ή άγαδον αμά δαυμασία αυκάζεσδαι, ή του καβόρα κακόν μισών. Εμία. Ρ. επίσο. Conviv. p. 1 1 54. De leg. lib. 4. p. 832.

Ως τω μεν άγαθω θύειν ε προσαμιλείν δε τοίς θεοίς, ε τυχαίς ε αποδεμανός η ξυμενάσε θεραπεία θεν, κάλλετον ε άρισος ε άνυσε μώτατον πρός τον ενδείμονη βίση, ε δε ε θετροφέντος πρότου. De log lib. 4. p. 832. — μετά θεώς δε τώς δε ε τοίς δαίμοσει δη έμφων δργιώστα δοί δια το δε άνους εδράματα ίδια πατρώων θενς επικό γομες όργος δενδεύν θε εξιίδιοι. Το πος θενδεύν θενς επικό γομες όργος δενδεύν θενς επικό γομες όργος δενδεύν δενδεύν θενς επικό γομες όργος δενδεύν δενδεύν θενσεύν θενδεύν δενδεύν δενδεύν

Τον αρισμόν δη των συσίων λέγωμεν πρωτον. εςωσαν γήρ των μέν πέντε β εξήπεντα β τρακουίων μένδι απολείποσαι. Επως αν μία γε τες άρχη σύη σεων ε δαιμώνων του άως ώπερ πέρευς νε η εντωτ ε ματών. ματών. De leg. lib. 8. p. 905.

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lib. 7. p. 901.

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of chiefest be an apolacionarisian thane colorectus & innesting

YOU are pleased to express a particular defire to have my fentiments upon what Mr Hume has affirmed concerning the different denominations of Protestants, and concerning the tumults of war in the fixteenth century. This, my friend, would lead us into a wide field of history and reasoning: you must therefore be so good as to accept of a few remarks on fome things most considerable.

cult and intricate oright to be explained.

THE Protestants," fays this author, " carried the tumults of war through e-" very part of Christendom." A formidable charge indeed, if it were well founded. But were they really fo fond of the Mahometan principle, and fo univerfally prone to propagate religion by force of arms? If we take but a transient survey of the history of the fixteenth century, we shall soon perceive what answer is to be made to this question, and what we are to think of the above affertion. -- Into England,

land, Denmark, Sweden, and fome electorates and principalities of Germany, the reformation was introduced with the full concurrence of the princes of these several states, which felt no violent internal convulfions arifing from it. In Scotland the nobility and barons were obliged to enter into a bond of affociation for mutual defence in 1558; and after a state of confusion for about two years, the Popish religion was suppressed by acts of parliament.

THE Low Countries were long the feat of a defolating war: but was it not kindled by the tyranny of Philip II. of Spain, who meant to despoil these provinces of their ancient rights, to reduce them into a state of servitude, nay further, to subject them to the dreadful authority of the inquisition? The Catholics and Protestants joined together in defence of their rights, which were about to be wrested from them, and in opposition to the plan of civil and ecclefiaftical despotism that was meditated against them. In the progress of the war seven of the provinces embraced the profession of the Protest-

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ant religion; and formed themselves into an united state. England and France supported by turns the interests of the rising republic.

currence of the princes of their leveral IF we consider the characters of the Emperor Charles V. and of Francis I. the former of which monarchs could not bear a rival, nor the latter a superior in power; and if we reflect on their jealoufy and hatred of each other, we can he at no loss to discover the true causes of those great wars which were carried on, during almost the whole course of their lives. As they adhered to the Roman-Catholic communion, the disputes about the reformation could have but little influence on their quarrel. The Protestant princes of Germany were indeed, sometimes, in no small danger of being overwhelmed by the power of the Emperor. This power was once and again very strenuously exerted against them, particularly in the year 1547, when that illustrious prince Frederick the Elector of Saxony was taken prisoner in a decisive battle, which he loft. His dominions were torn from him, and transferred to his coufin

His

fin Maurice; and after his death, to Maurice's brother Augustus, whose descendents have ever fince retained that electorate; the duchy of Sake-Gotha being affigned to Frederick's family, which has in this age bleffed the British isles with a princess univerfally effeemed, and of the most distinguished merit. But though Charles the Emperor for far prevailed against this magnanimous prince and his allies, yet his god neral scheme was frustrated; and in a few years aftern he was pleased to enter into terms of peace with the Protestants. As they acted upon the defensive, the "tu-"mults of war" cannot justly be imputed and bigotted monarch of Spain. . madbyot ratifule towards the Protestants of his

on In will not, I think, be denied by those who attentively review the history of France, during the latter half of the fixteenth century, that the dreadful cruelty of the Catholies, the daring ambition of the house of Guise, the violent contentions for power betwixt them and the princes of the blood, and the crafty defigns of Philip upon that crown, were, in truth, have

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the

the chief causes of those destructive wars which raged in that kingdom. The maffacre of Vitri, and afterwards the more horrible one of Paris, ushered in their civil wars ; which, after wfome intermiffion, broke out again with greater fury upon the affaffination of Henry III. The Protestants of that country unanimously concurred in supporting the right of Henry IV. and bore a large share in the dangers and toils of the unequal war, which that gallant prince fultained against his numerous and powerful enemies, who were united against him in what was called the holy league, at the head of which was the ambitious and bigotted monarch of Spain. Henry's gratitude towards the Protestants of his kingdom was expressed in his granting them the famous edict of Nantz, and in the public toleration which was by it afforded to all of that communion; which edict of his, ratified in the most folemn manner, was basely violated by his grandson Lewis XIV. The remarkable circumstances of outrage and cruelty which accompanied the repeal of this edict, might the have

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have furnished out to our author another of those "memorable, though temporary "instances of the bigotry of the Romish "superstition," which may "seem asto-"nishing amid the mildness and huma-"nity of modern manners;" and the more astonishing, as it is a late instance, and to be met with in a voluptuous court, where the utmost refinement of modern manners was affected.—"The doc-"trines of peace," and "the tumults of "war," form a pretty antithesis enough; but unhappily the affertion in that paragraph is not at all consistent with historical truth.

I am far from being inclined to meddle with those particular points, by which the different denominations of Protestants are distinguished from each other. Neither would it be proper to enter upon the consideration of these, in our animadversions on this writer. It is his manner, to comprise his "enlarged sentiments" of things in a few general propositions and distinctions, which, when they are ingeniously applied,

B b 2 are

" fitien to each other." That he flould

are thought fufficient to reflect a new light on every subject he treats. We may therefore well expect to meet with fomething of this kind in his accounting for the different fentiments and practice of Protestants, with respect to ceremonies, an established liturgy, and the form of church-government. Embufiasm and superstition, these favourite terms, are again preffed into the fervice. They had been heretofore made use of for fixing a characteristical mark of distinction upon the Roman-Catholic and Protestant churches; and we had been told, that " thefe two species of religion, the superstitious " and fanatical, stand in diametrical oppo-" fition to each other." That he should talk of higher and lower degrees of fanaticifin, when he has occasion, or takes occafion to speak of the reformed churches, is quite confiftent with all this and it is fometimes his ftyle. The more fanatical churches *. - As the Lutheran efablishments were subjected to Episcopal jurisdiction, their fanatical genius gradually decayed + .- The spirit of enthu-* Page 8. + Page 40.

" fialm

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" fiafm was fomewhat tempered by a fenfe " of order ";" and fo in other passages. But how does it come about, that this "fa-"natical genius" should be represented, at other times, sas in alliance with that which is faid to be "diametrically oppo-" fite" to it? In describing "the genius " of the church of England," he fpeaks of " its affinity to the tame superstition of the " Catholics +." - " The English church," fays he, in another place, "had retained a " fhare of Popish superstition 1;" again, " Popery and Prelacy, alone, whose ge-" nius verged towards fuperstition, the In-" dependents were inclined to treat with rigor . And concerning Archbishop Laud, he thus expresses himself. "It must " be confessed, that though Laud deserved not the appellation of Papift, the genius of " his religion was, though in a less degree, " yet the fame with that of the Romish **." Whether these things are true or false, is not the present question; but whether such positible for one to believe that Episcopacy

fentiments.

[‡] Page 396.

[†] Page 81. Page 201.

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fentiments and expressions are consistent with what he has affirmed in relation to the stated distinction betwixt the Protestant and Popish churches, and the direct opposition of fanaticism to superstition.

solid is this to be "diametrically made HOWEVER, in confequence of this supposed affinity to Catholic superstition, he represents the church of England as well inclined to the plan of arbitrary power, and ever favourable to it. Is this indeed the truth; and is this general polition verified in history? Is there no distinction to be made, betwixt defending certain prerogatives of the crown, and the giving up all the rights of a great nation into the hands of an arbitrary monarch? Are the excesses of the members of that communion in past times, and the bigotted prejudices of too many in the present age to be imputed to all? And is an inseparable connection to be established betwixt two points that are in themselves manifestly distinct? Is it not posible for one to believe that Episcopacy is of apostolical institution, without decla-.dor page ting,

fentiments

ring, at the fame time; his implicit fubmif fion to all that a bishop dictates, or that a monarch, who approves that government, prescribes? And will the wife and moderate of that communion, will any of them, who are friends to the interests of liberty and the British constitution, be well pleased with our author's speculations on this subject? In speaking of the arbitrary measures of James I. "The fame alliance," fays he, " which has ever prevailed betwixt kingly " power and ecclefiaftical authority, was " now fully established in England , and " while the prince affilted the clergy in " fuppreffing fchifmatics and innovators; " the clergy, in return, inculcated the "doctrine of an unreferved fubmission and "obedience to the civil magistrate. The " genius of the church of England, fo w kindly to monarchy, forwarded the confederacy; its fubmiffion to Epifcopal jurifdiction; its attachment to ceremonies; "nto order, and to andecent pompa and "fplendor of worship; and, in a word, " its affinity to the tame superstition of the c Catholics. .nounl

Gatholics, rather than to the wild fangifion to all that "E singist etc. or and the entrement, memorarch, who approved that government,

- To the honour of that church let it be ever remembered by all Protestants, that in extremely difficult and dangerous times, many of its most distinguished members confuted this doctrine by their practice; and made a noble fland for our religious and civil rights, in opposition to the bold increachments of Popery, and the daring efforts of arbitrary power. While fome maintained the baufe of the Protestant religion in writings which give a luftre to their names, and with fuch fense and found learning as their adversaries could not withstand; others were active in concerting and purfuing proper measures for faving the nation from that complicated ruin which was impending over it. Happily for us, happily for the concerns of religion and liberty in the British islands, their generous endeayours were growned with fuccess And ever fince the memorable ara of the revo-

is alliant to the fine function of the

Let. VIII. Me HUME'S HISTORY. 201

hition, they who have approved themselves the hest friends of the church of England; have asked in support of a free constitution; on of a limited monarchy.

fing himfelf at the head of the reformers, Is it not also well known, that the Prefbyterians in Scotland have zealoufly concurred in the fame noble aim, and have steadily adhered to it ? Determined encmies of despotism, I will admit, they have always been, and I hope will even be; but hearty friends to the Protestant incession; to the present establishment, to the mildest and heft government that ever was known in these islands. They have shown themfelves its friends in circumstances of peculiar danger; their avowed principles must lead them to fuch a conduct; and were it not for this, many of those perhaps, who now bear them no extraordinary good-will, would be affected towards them in a very different manner.

But let us next confider what Mr
Hume has remarked concerning the erection of the different forms of church-goC c vernment

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vernment in Protestant countries. ... In " the electorates of Germany, in Den-" mark, and in Sweden, where the mo-" narch was early converted, and, by put-" ting himself at the head of the reformers, acquired authority amongst them; as " the spirit of enthusiasin was somewhat " tempered by a sense of order, episcopal i jurisdiction, along with a few decent ceremonies, was preserved in the new " establishment. In Switzerland and Geneva, which were popular governments; " in France, Scotland, and the Low " Countries, where the people reformed " themselves in opposition to the prince, the genius of fanaticism displayed itself in its full extent, and affected every " circumstance of discipline and worship. " A perfect equality was established among the ecclefiaftics; and their inflamed ima-" gination unconfined by any forms of li-" turgy," &c. *

It is somewhat unlucky that he has not been sufficiently exact in his inquiry into tion of the different forms o

. P. 8.

facts,

facts, ere he proceeded to his speculations about them; as a mistake in point of fact has often produced a very remarkable error in speculation. Was it indeed the case, that in all those countries where the princes embraced and promoted the reformation, episcopal jurisdiction and a public liturgy were established; while in others the Presbyterian government, without a liturgy, prevailed ? In the Palatinate, in Brandenburg, and the principality of Hesse, not to mention states of inferior note in Germany, where the princes "put themselves at the " head of the reformers," the ecclefiaftical government was carried on by prefbyters and fuperintendents. The latter had certain degrees of power, and a general inspection of ecclesiastical affairs assigned to them; but without the idea of a distinction or superiority of order. If our author should tell us, that this is a fort of episcopal jurisdiction sufficient for his purpose, it may be granted for once; but then let it be remembered, that fuperintendents were in like manner established elsewhere among Presbyterians, particularly in Scotland, immediately Cc2 etentoli

mediately after the reformation. But if h is his opinion, that superintendents, and their predations jurisdiction, are very diffewent from bithops, and their fettled author rity; then what becomes of his affertion concerning the chabilifument of epifcopal princes declared for the Protefunt religion? In either way, you fee, we meet with no inconnderable miltaket and And might not princes have had different views of this matter in a political light, as well as the clergy had in a rengious one, when they formed their opinions about it? The debate Helf num's chiefly upon the relatation of two questions, in point of fact; numely, Whether there is a clear differention in Terip whether diocelan epileopacy obtained in the apoltolic age, and therefore may be concluded to be of apostolic institution? And may not a man of the coolest head determine for the negative fide of both these questions? Even the reformers in England did so determine as to the first of them. These worthy men entertained senmediately timents

timents in relation to declesistical go vernment not a little different from those which began to be espoused about the en of James's reign, and were afterwards sein toully maintained by Archbidiop Land and his friends. Our mather himself, it would appear, has thought it worth while to inquire into this fubject, and, which is forhe-what extraordinary, his opinion is favour-able to their principles, against whom he feems to have been heated, and upon whom he pours out such repreachful terms through the whole of his history, it The hereit to chy," He tells us, i thad been enablimed "The Routish church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of eccleinaffical government? The antient fathers s too bore reftimony to epifcopal jurit "diction : And the parity feems at first " to have had place among Christian pait flors, the period, during which it prevalled, was fo thort, that few undifpuseed traces of it remained in history. The t bishops and their more zealous partizans " inferred thence the divine indefeizable " right verticits

" right of prelacy: Others regarded that "inflitution as venerable and useful *." You fee then to whose sentiments he inclines; and I dare fay none will suspect that he was led to this opinion by any the least influence of enthusiasm.) ... inmin and

enpear, has thought it would while to in-

IT might be likewise observed, with refpect to public liturgies, or forms of prayer, that they were, in some measure, to be found in other countries, as well as in those where the monarch concurred with the reformation; nay as much in them, as in most of the German states; and that even where established forms were in use, yet the ministers of religion were not entirely restrained from prayers of their own compofure, in their public ministrations, far less in their discharging the private duties of their office. But I am averse from entering far into the confideration of these matters of less importance, which found the distinction between the two denominations of Protestants. Neither would this be at all proper, (I repeat it,) in one's animad-

Mr Hume's hiftory, p. 251. idois »

versions upon this historian, who furely will not be chosen umpire betwixt them. They differ in their fentiments about points which are far removed from the effentials of religion, and genuine Christianity breathes a spirit of candour and moderation, which is extended to all good men with diffusive charity. Never ought they to be regarded as friends to its interests. who would inculcate a warm zeal for the circumstantials of religion; and far less they who would wish to keep alive the flame of contention, and to fet the true disciples of our Lord and Saviour at a greater distance from each other. How amiable is the fpirit of benevolence to all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity? Men may give vent to their pride and ignorance, their fpleen, their bigotry and heat of temper; but it is pity that thele should have so often put on the semblance of religion, and have met with fo kind a reception under this difguife. As the enemies of our holy faith have fufficiently availed themselves of this objection, it is high time for its friends effectually to refute parliament

it; and to bestow their attention and real upon matters of another kind, and of far other importance.

biob are far removed from the effentials Our author's account of Queen Elifabeth's treatment of the Puritans, is the last point that is before us, and with which he concludes his speculations on the subject of the Protestant religion, in the 8th page of his history. His words are thefe. "But after the perfecutions of Mary had chafed s abroad all the most obstinate reformers, who escaped her fury as they had lei-" fure to imbibe a ftronger tincture of the 55 enthufiaftic genius and when they re-" turned, upon the accession of Elifabeth, " they imported it, in its full force and virulence, into their native country. That renowned Princess, whose good taste gave her a fense of order and decorum, " and whose found judgment taught her " to abhor innovations, endeavoured, by " a fleddy feverity, to curb this obstinate " enthuliasm, which, from the beginning, " looked with an evil aspect, both on the " church and monarchy. By an act of " parliament

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the age of fixteen, who were absent from church a month, or who, by word or writing, declared their fentiments against the established religion, were to be imprisoned, till they made an open declaration of their conformity. This if they refused during three months, they were to abjure the realm; and if they either refused such abjuration, or staid in England beyond the time limited, they were to suffer as selons, without benefit of clergy. To such extreme rigor was the severity pushed of Eliza-

SEVERE indeed were the measures of her administration; and they were completed in this extraordinary act. When persecution is once let loose, it is but natural that it should proceed from one degree to another; and it is impossible to ascertain the bounds within which salse politics, wrath, or bigotry, may think sit to restrain its violence. This spirit is manifestly in itself irrational, antichristian, inhuman; at all times D d subversive

rations, on at most le a fare differe from the

subversive of the natural rights of men, as it is furely of the most noxious influence on true religion. But may not the iniquity of its acts, and our abhorrence of them, be fometimes heightened by particular circumstances? when we consider who they are that are animated by it, what those persons are who become the objects of its refentment, on what account they are liable to its outrage, and what is the excess of severity and cruelty they are made to feel. That Protestants should deal in this manner by their brethren! that they should ever have done so! and on account of things that are either confessedly of human institution, or at most are far distant from the fundamentals of religion! Pudet bæc opprobria.—And will any one rife up in our age to form an apology for fuch a conduct? nay, to ascribe it, in a great measure, to "good " tafte and found judgment" in a monarch? Shall this be done by an historian, who professes to look into 'all that concerns religion with a calm and philosophic eye? Is it confistent with candour, to admit of no excuse for what may be blameable on the one hand,

hand, while on the other every favourable circumstance is mentioned, nay, even false colouring is applied to disguise blemishes, and to conceal deformity? Is it to be thought, that he may perhaps be prompted to this, by a good-will to those principles of civil government, which, as he afferts, were so agreeable to the one side, or by a tacit aversion to those different principles which were espoused by the other? Or is this bias to be imputed to some other cause?

Bur, conjecture apart, what was it that drew down upon the Puritans in Queen Elisabeth's time all that extremely severe usage? and what was their behaviour that could in any measure justify such treatment? Numerous quotations might be produced, to shew, that many of the most eminent members of the church of England did, at that time, highly disapprove of these violent proceedings; and I would hope that their numbers in our age are not great, who do not heartily subscribe to the fame generous fentiment. Even they who are of opinion, that the Puritans were by Dd 2 much

much too zealous in the matter of babits and ceremonies, may be free to acknowledge, that too much rigour was exercifed in the imposition of them, and in the punishment of all who did not exactly comply with them. Put the case, that they were in the wrong who refused to wear the habits which were in use in the church of Rome, and who wished that any other decent garb might be substituted in their room; a hat and a gown, for instance, instead of a hood and a surplice: yet was this a matter upon which fuch feverities ought to have been founded? upon which clergymen of merit, against whom nothing else could be objected, were to be harrassed and imprisoned, degraded and banished? Was it reasonable, first to create a necesfity, and then to plead it? peremptorily to injoin the strictest conformity, and in the next place severely to punish the least violation of it? Allow me to fay, in behalf of those who scrupled to use these habits, that the general principle on which they proceeded was the same, which had rightly influenced the conduct of the reformers in other dones

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other instances; for example, in their removing the altars out of churches, and fetting up tables in place of them, "Rid-" ley, Cranmer, Latimer, and the reft " of the English reformers, were una-" nimoufly of opinion," fays a late hiftorian, " that the retaining altars would " ferve only to nourish in people's minds " the fuperstitious opinion of a propi-" tiatory mass, and would minister an " occasion of offence and division *." A like argument, in relation to the ancient habits, was urged by Bishop Hooper, so early as the year 1550; and it was thought of weight in the 1562, by one half of the lower house of convocation +. It is easy to throw out a little wit on this subject, as our author has fomewhere done; but if we look back to these times, perhaps it will appear that this affair was not quite fo frivolous. All these habits, from the scarlet robe downwards to the white furplice, had mystical fignifications affixed to them by the church of Rome: they were jud-

^{*} Neal's history of the Puritans, vol. 1. p. 66.

ged indispensably requisite in the ministrations of the clergy; and it was a prevailing notion among the people, that without these sacerdotal garments their ministrations were ineffectual. In the judgment therefore of many, it appeared more advisable to lay aside the Popish habits, and to prescribe some other decent garb; nay, the greatest part of the bishops and clergy feemed to have been of this opinion; but the Queen's authority turned the scale against them. By the act of supremacy, in the first year of her reign, and by an important clause of the act of uniformity, which was paffed in the fecond, that princess was invested with extensive, and almost unlimited power, in all ecclefiaftical matters. This power she exerted, in a very severe manner, by the court of bigb commission, during the course of her reign; nay, she was apt to be extremely offended, when the parliament, at different times, meant to correct its harsh measures, and to circumscribe that authority which themselves had bestowed. Any attempts of this kind were by her confidered as an invafion of her · bsm

her prerogative, and were refented accordingly. During the first ten or twelve years of her reign, the zeal of her ecclefiaftical commissioners was chiefly exercised about . the ancient babits: and it will not be contested by those who have any regard to the natural rights of mankind, that matters were strained to a pretty high pitch, when these commissioners ordained, that every clergyman "fhould fwear obedience to the " Queen's injunctions and letters-patent; to " all letters from the lords of the privy " council, and to the articles and injunc-" tions of their metropolitan, of the bi-"Thop, archdeacon, and chancellors "." Yet these were their orders in the year 1565; and fuspension, imprisonment, and deprivation, were the fatal effects of them. to proceed in cheir inquiries into eastters ther

It is not necessary to prosecute the history of those differences, and of the unrelenting behaviour of the commissioners towards the nonconformists, by which they became alienated from the church. In

^{*} Neal's hift. vol. 1. p. 218.

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Archbishop Whitgift's primary visitation, we are told, more than two hundred minifters were suspended; and forty-nine were at once deprived *. Of the former a great number supplicated the lords of council, " declaring their readiness to subscribe " the doctrinal articles of the church,-" professing their reverence for the esta-" blished church, and their esteem for " the book of common prayer, fo far as " that they faw no necessity of separating " from the unity of the church on that " account +" : and they conclude with praying for indulgence. But these requests had little effect : nay, about this time the Queen extended the powers of the court of bigb commission; and, among other things, they are authorised and appointed to proceed in their inquiries into matters that fell under their jurisdiction, "as well by " the oaths of twelve good and lawful " men, as also by witnesses, and all other " ways and means they could devife :of the alternative will make Vistantille on the

malidabat.

^{*} Neal's hift. vol. 1. p. 400, anno 1584.

⁺ Ib: p. 405.

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"And further, we do empower you," (they are the words of the commission), " or any three of you, to call before you all "persons suspected of any of the premisses, and to examine them, on their corporal oaths, for the better trial and opening of the truth; and if lany persons "are obstinate and disobedient, either in o not appearing at your command, or not obeying your orders and decrees, then to punish them by excommunication, or other censures ecclesiastical, or by fine " according to your difcretions; or to com-"mit the faid offenders to ward, there to " remain till he or they shall be by you, or three of you, enlarged or delivered *." What rigorous procedure was to be expected from a court that was constituted by fuch a commission to fome clauses of which had fo near an affinity with the Ryle of the court of inquisition. There were twenty-four questions or articles framed by the Archbishop on that occasion; and of what nature they were, you may judge

"branches

Neal's hift, vol. r. p. 410. 413. 01 4119.

by a letter which the Lord Treasurer Burleigh thought proper to write on this fubject. It breathes fuch a spirit of sense and freedom, that one must read it with pleafure. He addresses the Archbishop in the following terms. "It may please your " Grace, I am forry to trouble you for " oft as I do; but I am more troubled my-" felf, not only with many private petitions " of fundry ministers, recommended for " persons of credit, and peaceable in their " ministry, who are greatly troubled by " your Grace, and your colleagues in com-" mission; but I am also daily charged by " counsellors and public persons, with neg-" lect of my duty, in not staying your "Grace's vehement proceedings against " ministers, whereby Papists are greatly " encouraged, and the Queen's fafety en-" dangered.—I have read over your " twenty-four articles, found in a Romish " style, of great length and curiosity, to ex-" amine all manner of ministers in this time, " without distinction of persons, to be executed ex officio mero: - and I find " them so curiously penned, so full of " branches

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"branches and circumstances, that I think " the inquisition of Spain used not fo " many questions to comprehend and to "trap their priefts. I know your canonifts can defend these with all their particles; "but furely, under correction, this judicial and canonical fifting poor ministers is not to edify or reform. And, in "charity, L think they ought not to anff fwer to all these nice points, except they were notorious Papifts or heretics. I Write with the testimony of a good con-"fcience. I defire the peace and unity of " the church. I favour no fenfual and wil-"ful recufant; but I conclude, according " to my simple judgment, this kind of " proceeding is too much favouring of the "Romish inquisition; and is a device ra-" ther to feek for offenders than to reform " any. It is not charitable, to fend poor " ministers to your common register to "answer upon so many articles at one in-" flant, without a copy of the articles or their answers. I pray your Grace "bear with this one (perchance) fault, " that I have willed the ministers not to Spanish " answer Ee 2

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stanswer these articles, except their con-

Such was the humane and Christian spirit of this igreat man's letter The lords of council too wrote to the fame purpofe. But the zealous prelate, and some lof his brethren in commission with him, would not defift. The very harth measures which they purfued, flirred in the breafts of many honconformists a further dislike of those things which were forigoroully imposed, and a difaffection to the ecclefialtical government itself. Some of the Puritan clergy began to think of a total feparation from the established church, and to hold separate affemblies, about the year eighty fix. The rest remained in its communion; and would have remained in it, if an exact conformity, without the least abatement, had not been demanded of thom. I need not fay what loyalty towards the Queen, and zeal for the Protestant religion, was thewn by the Puritans at the time of the

withear with this one therehance) fault,

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Neal's hift. vol. 1. p. 425.

Spanish invation. Soon after they address. ed the parliament for relief; and the house of Commons was not unwilling to comply with their request sout as the Queen lobfireded it, they could obtain no redrefs. They were ftill profecuted; and forme of them a wrote afathical opamphiets, mwhich, though they were condemned by wife men amongst them, yet vailed strong prejudices against them all. At last, as her Majesty urged the two houses of parliament to compel recufants to attend the fervice of the church, they yielded to her moffage, and paffed an act, intitled, if An lact for the " punishment of perfors oblinately refu-" fing to come to church, and perfuading " others to simpugn the Queen's authority "in ecclefialtical enufes;" in which it is enacted, "That if any person above the age of fixteen shall oblimately refuse to " repair to fome church; chapel, or usual "place of common prayer, to hear divine " fervice; for the space of one month, " without lawful cause; or shall at any "time, forty days after the end of this " fession, by printing, writing, or express

" words.

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words, go about to perfuade any of her Majefty's subjects to deny, withstand, "or impugn her Majesty's power or au-" thority in causes ecclesiastical; or shall "diffuade them from coming to church, " to hear divine fervice, for receive the " communion according as the law di-" rects y or shall be present at any unlaw-"ful affembly, conventicle, or meeting, "under colour or pretence of any exer-"cife of religion; that every person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be " committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform, and yield themselves " to come to church, and make a declaration of their conformity. But in case " the offenders against this statute, being " lawfully convict, shall not submit, and fign the declaration within three months, " then they shall abjure the realm, and go "into perpetual banishment. And if they " do not depart within the time limited " by the quarter-fessions, or justices of peace, or if they return at any time afterwards without the Queen's licence, they Itahinan, by prinding writing, or express

words,

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" shall suffer death without benefit of clergy *" clergy *"

thight have a kled at leaft tan exception as WHAT a spirit of bigotry and violence is here? Well might it be termed by a late author, "one of the severest acts of oppression " and cruelty, that ever was made by the re-" presentatives of a Protestant nation and a " free people." Never once, it seems, did it enter into his thoughts, and there are few into whose thoughts it would have entered, that all this was, in a great measure, the effect of the "good tafte and found " judgment" of the Queen. One would be apt to imagine, that the nonconformists had been guilty of some atrocious crimes. which drew down upon them this fevere resentment. But in vain will you seek for these, unless great guilt be imputed to them on account of their fentiments, or, if you will, their refractory behaviour with respect to the discipline and rites of the church; for in matters relative to the state they were entirely innocent.

the religious savings of unsudently and care

^{*} Neal's hift, vol. 1. p. 542.

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THE " found judgment of that Princes's " taught her to abhor innovations " He might have added at least an exception as to those which herself approved. TAIn the beginning of her reign, you know, all the laws of her fifter Mary were abrogated, and the Popish system was overturned. And would any detriment to the Protestant religion have enfued, although matters had been fo fettled as that fome indulgence might have been shewn in relation to external forms, and a few things of less importance? Was there any necessity of defining these so minutely, and of urging an exact conformity to them? And why were fuch rigorous methods put in practice to enforce it? Such a conduct may well be ascribed to other causes; but can never, I think, be referred to true wisdom and just policy. That Queen's found judgment and fhining talents were nobly difplayed in other fcenes: but these now before us tend rather to blemish than to adorn her character, in the eyes of all who have any regard to the religious rights of mankind, and are void of the spirit of bigotry and party-zeal. SHI So

So late as the year 1592, some of the most eminent amongst the Puritan clergy folemnly declared, in a supplication which they addressed to her, that they did not think it lawful to make a schissm in the church, on account of what might need to be revised and further removed. "Our "whole life," add they, " may thew "the evident proof hereof; for always " before the time of our trouble we have " lived in the daily communion of it, not " only as private men, but at the time of " our restraint (as many years before) " preached, and exercised our ministry in " the fame; and at this prefent most ear-" neftly befeech all in authority over us, " especially your excellent Majesty, that we may so proceed to serve God and " your Highness all the days of our life." Yet these are the men whose spirit and tenets are faid " from the beginning, to have " looked with an evil aspect, both on the " church and monarchy." If it be once laid down as a maxim, That a " found judg-" ment will teach a monarch to abhor in-" novations," and if his power be but little good **fubject** Ff

fubject to control, one does not know to what lengths it might proceed, so as to be exerted not only in matters of church-government, but likewise perhaps against those who would introduce "enlarged," or rather libertine "sentiments" about religion. Such persons, I doubt, would soon give up with the wisdom and equity of this maxim concerning innovations, if they were in danger of having the concluding sanction of the above act of Elisabeth put in execution against them.

court refraint (as many years before) Bur let me state a plain case, and with it put an end to this letter. Do but suppose that any particular monarch was a true friend of the Roman-Catholic church, and that the question respected the Popish and Protestant doctrines. The monarch has a great reverence for the superstitious and pompous service of that church; he is afraid of the Protestant spirit, as breathing too much of liberty; he fees plainly that its principles lead to great innovations, which "his found judgment teaches him "to abhor;" and in consequence of "his Spidest " good

of fone things mod inpoinant, whill we attend to what he has fall concerning the

lead us into ton long a detail. Let us chereforceatout outfelves with a general view

rife of the calamitous civil wars, and the o-

riginal grounds of difference between King Charles and his parliquents . This doubt-

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And it was well be expected that his con-

leaft children. As I am to lay before you

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of good tafte and found judgment," he will be come

"this obtinate enthulasing which leaks IN the preceding letters I have gone through what was chiefly in view when I began this correspondence, and transcribed two remarkable passages relative to the Protestant religion, and to the characters of the first reformers. Having got thus far, I shall add two letters more upon some other points. An accurate examination of this author's historical narrative, and of his political fentiments and reflections, which are every where interspersed, would lead us into too long a detail. Let us therefore content ourselves with a general view of some things most important, whilst we attend to what he has faid concerning the rife of the calamitous civil wars, and the original grounds of difference betwixt King Charles and his parliaments. This, doubtless, is a subject of which an historian ought to have very clear and determinate ideas. And it may well be expected that his fentiments, whatever they are, should be at least uniform. As I am to lay before you the

the ideas and fentiments of this writer in his own words. I shall be obliged in this letter to transcribe several passages of the history, way beautoclass on the hi-

boxless the crown and were resolved

To begin with his account of the complexion of the house of Commons, in the first parliament of Charles's reign: He had been affigning some causes of their granting. only two subsidies to the King, who stood in need of a much larger supply, and he proceeds in the following manner. 5% To " all these causes we must yet add another " of confiderable moment ... The house of 55 commons, we may observe, were al-"most intirely governed by a set of men " of the most uncommon capacity and the 15 largest views men, who were now formsed into a regular party, and united, as " well by fixed aims and projects, as by 55 the hardfhips, which they had, many 5 of them, undergone in profecution of "them. I Among these we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Ed-15 win Sandyslih Sir Robert Philipsoh Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir 1119 00 John

M John Ellot, lo Sira Thomas Wentworth, selMr Selden, Mr Pym. I Animated with in a warm regard to liberty, thefe men faw, " with regrete, an unbounded power ex-" ercifed by the crown, and were resolved office the opportunity, which the King's necessities offered them, to rebe duce the prerogative within more real adionable compais. The their ancestors sochad blindly given way to practices and of precedents favorable tomkingly power, and had been able, hotwithstanding to preferve forme cremains of liberty it would be impossible, they thought, when all these pretentions were methodized 19 and profecuted by the increasing knowstilege of the age, to maintain any tha-"dow of popular government, in oppo-" fition to fuch unlimited authority in the fovereign "Twas necessary to fix a "choice: | Either to abandon intirely the 15 privileges of the people, or to fecure "them by firmer and more precise barriers than the conflitution had hitherto provife ded for them. In this dilemma, men of " fuch aspiring genius and such independce ent · ndol »

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" ent fortune could not long deliberate : "They generously embraced the fide of " freedom, and refolved to grant no sup-"plies to their necessitous prince, without " extorting concessions in favor of civil li-"gberty " what in the above paragreytrad "

historian realls and concessions in favor of This historian well knows, that in the famous petition of right, which both houses of parliament offered to the King three years after, they quoted many ancient statutes to prove the illegality of fuch an arbitrary manner of imprisonment as had been of late practifed, and of imposing taxes, under what name foever, upon the fubject, without consent of parliament. having mentioned some other measures of absolute government, they conclude with these words. " All which they most hum-" bly pray of your Most Excellent Majesty, " as their rights and liberties according to " the laws and statutes of this realm; and " that your Majesty would also vouchsafe " to declare, that the awards, doings, and

" adopted.

views: 14 Those losty ideas of monarchical Wr Hume's history, p. 147.

" proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premisses, shall "not be drawn hereafter into consequence " or example." To all which his Majesty, though somewhat ungracefully, at last agreed. What in the above paragraph our historian calls "concessions in favor of " civil liberty," is by both houses confidered in a quite different light, and as a just recognisance of their ancient rights and liberties, which were contained in the eftablished laws of the kingdom. He seems to speak of the general aim of these patriots with approbation, though in a turn of expression remarkable enough. "They " generously embraced the fide of freedom, " and refolved to grant no supplies to their " necessitous prince, without extorting con-" cessions in favor of civil liberty." How unhappily is a generous purpose here connected with an ungenerous act? and in what an extraordinary manner is the former afigned as the cause of the latter? He goes on to speak of the King's sentiments and views: "Those lofty ideas of monarchical " power, which were very commonly " adopted

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stadopted during that age, and to which the ambiguous nature of the English con-Softitution gave for plaufible an appear-4 ance, were firmly rivetted in Charles; st and however moderate his temper, the "natural illufions of felf-love, joined to " his education under James, and to the ff flattery of courtiers and church-men, " had represented his political tenets as cer-5 tain and uncontroverted. Taught to reso gard even the antient laws and conflitu-15 tion more as lines to direct his const duct, than barriers to withstand his es power; a conspiracy to cred new ramst parts, in order to straiten his authority, ss appeared but one degree removed from 59 open violence and rebellion *." The consequence was, that the two parliaments which had been called in the first and second years of his reign, were both of them haftily diffolved; and that he proceeded to raise money by different means; the last of which was a general loan that he extorted from his subjects. "The new coun-

Mr Hume's hiftory, por 48. this a'armali all #

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cils, which Charles had mentioned to "the parliament, were now to be tried, "in order to fupply his necessities. Had " he possessed any military force, on which "he could depend, 'tis likely, that he " had, at once, taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to the antient laws and conflitution : fo high an " idea had he imbibed of kingly preroga-" tive, and so contemptible a notion of the " privileges of those popular affemblies, " from which, he thought, he had met with fuch ill usage." But as he had not this military force, " it behoved him to proceed cautiously, and to cover his en-" terprises under the pretext of antient pre-" cedents; tho' it must be confessed, the weil could not possibly be thinner and " more transparent *." All this is not a little unfavourable to the monarch, and is indeed no other than what he was charged with by his greatest enemies, d vasion dies which was appended loan that the cu-

As they who refused to give money,

Mr. Hume's history, p. 159. file a small 116.

els,

on this demand of a general loan, were to have feveral questions put to them upon oath, their answers to which they were peremptorily injoined not to disclose, our author expresses himself on this subject in the following words. T" So violent an inquisitorial " power, fo abfurd an attempt at fecrecy, " were the objects equally of indignation " and ridicule. That speculative despotism," adds he, "might lend affiftance to practi-" cal, and religious tyranny support civil, " fermons were preached by Sibthrope and " Manwaring, in favor of the general " loan; and the court very industriously " fpread them over the kingdom. Paffive " obedience was there recommended in its " full extent, the whole authority of the " ftate was represented as belonging to the "King alone, and all limitations of laws " and constitutions were rejected as seditious " and impious. So openly was this doctrine " espoused by the King, that Archbishop "Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate, " because he would not license Sibthrope's " fermon, was banished from London, G g 2 of a comit 10 " and

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" and confined to one of his country.
"Reats "." and a read our decided by the decided of the country of the country of the country of the country.

IN fome following pages Mr Hume feems all awake to the noble fentiments of liberty and focial rights. "The the na-" from was thus treated like a conquered re province, its spirit was far from being " fubdued. Thro out all England, many " refused these loans, and some were even " active in encouraging their neighbors to mist upon their common rights and privileges." Imprisonment was the conrequence. While forme patiently submitted to confinement, and others petitioned the King, " five gentlemen alone had spirit e-" nough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, " and to demand releasement, not as a fa-" vor from the court, but as their due " by the laws of their country." The question was brought to a solemn trial before the king's-bench, and, "by the debates on this subject, it appeared, be-

se fermon, was bakillo

Mr Hume's history, p. 160.

" your controversy, to the whole nation, " that their ancestors had been so jealous of " perfonal liberty, as to feetire it against " arbitrary power in the crown, by fix fe-" veral flatures, and by an article of the ke great charter itself, the most facted foun-" dation of the laws and constitution. But " the kings of England, who had not " been able to prevent the enacting of " these laws, had sufficient authority, when " the tide of liberty was spent, to hinder their regular execution *." The judges did not think fit to decide the general queftion: "The nation, they faw, were al-" ready, to the last degree, exasperated: " Their chains were now held up to them. "And the most invidious prerogative of " the crown, that of imprisoning the sub-" ject, was here, openly, and folemnly, and " in numerous inflances, exercifed for the "most invidious purpose, in order to extort " loans, or rather fublidies, without confent " of parliament. But this was not the only " hardfhip of which the nation then of puctervine the ancient freedom of the

Mr Hume's history, p. 161.

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"found reason to complain."-He proceeds to mention fome others; and, upon the whole, he thus concludes. "It may " fafely be affirmed, that, except a few " proftituted courtiers or bigotted ecclefia-" flics, all men were highly discontented " with this complication of grievances, " under which the nation labored. Tho' " antient precedents were pleaded, in " favor of the King's measures; a " great difference, upon comparison, was " observed betwixt the cases. Acts of " power, however irregular, might cafual-" ly, and at intervals, be exercised by a so prince, for the fake of dispatch or ex-" pediency; and yet liberty still subsist, in " fome tolerable degree, under his admini-" ftration. But where all these were redu-" ced into a fystem, were exerted without " interruption, were studiously sought for, " in order to supply the place of laws, and " fubdue the refractory spirit of the na-"tion; it was necessary to find some speedy " remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes " of preserving the antient freedom of the " conftitution. Nor could moderate men " esteem Person +1

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"eftern the provocation, which the King "had received, tho' great, fufficient, in "any degree, to warrant all these violent " measures. The Commons, as yet, had " no way invaded his authority: They had " only exercised, as best pleased them, "their own privileges. Was he excu-" fable, because, from one house of parlia-" ment, he had met with some harsh and " unkind treatment, to make, in revenge, " an unjust and illegal invasion on the rights " and liberties of the whole nation *? Elsewhere: "A more submissive nation " than the English would have showed " fymptoms of discontent at these multi-"plied violences and difafters. Their li-" berties were, in a manner, ravished "from them; illegal taxes extorted," &c. + He goes on to speak of the ruin of trade, and of Buckingham's unfuccessful expedition to the isle of Rhe. When things were in this fituation, a new parliament was called: orders were given to notified of right, which having

^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 163. 1600 110000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 110000 110000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 11000 110000 110000 110

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release the gentlemen, to the number of seventy-eight, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the loan-money; and twenty-seven of them were chosen members of parliament *.

" only exercifed, as beft pleafed them, WHEN the Commons affembled, they " appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, " and possessed of such riches, that their st property was computed to furpals three " times that of the house of Peers; they Were deputed by burroughs and counties, inflamed, all of them, by the late " open violations of liberty; many of the " members themselves had been sast into prison, and had suffered by the ar-" bitrary measures of the court : yet, not-" withstanding all these circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace " violent resolutions, they entered upon "buliness with perfect temper and deco-" rum +." They drew up the famous bill called the petition of right, which having

release

^{*} Rushworth, quoted by Rapin, vol. 2. book 19.

[†] Mr Hume's history, p. 168.

gone through both houses of parliament, was at length affented to by the King, and passed into a law. Mr Hume talks of " the extreme rigor of the Commons to-" wards Charles" on this occasion. And was it indeed to very hard a cafe, to have his affent requested to a petition, every tittle of which was conformable to the laws of the kingdom, and grounded on the plaineft statutes? and that the Commons should give this petition of right the preference to a bill of supply? However, even although their conduct had been liable to the imputation of "extreme rigor," yet he thinks it may allow of an apology. There is " nothing which tends more to excuse, " if not to justify, the extreme rigor of the "Commons towards Charles, than his open "encouragement and avowal of fuch ge-"neral principles, as were altogether in-" compatible with a limited government. " Manwaring had preached a fermon, " which the Commons found, upon inqui-" ry, to be printed by special command " from the King; and when this fermon " was looked into, it contained doctrines H h " fubverfive ZHT 22

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" fubverfive of all civil liberty *." This person was punished by the parliament; but, after their diffolution, was pardoned and promoted by the King.

THE interval, betwixt the fecond and " third parliament, was distinguished by so " many open and flagrant violations of pu-" blic liberty, that men had little leifure to " attend to the affair of tonnage and pound-" age. But after the Commons, during " the precedent fession, had remedied all " these grievances by means of their petition of right, which was become fo neces-" fary; they afterwards proceeded to take this matter into confideration +." A remonstrance was framed against levying tonnage and poundage without confent of parliament; but the King, unwilling to receive it, put an end to that fession by a prorogation; and as this important affair was again taken up at their next meeting, the parliament was dissolved (March 1629) of ye being so of Will

[•] Mr Hume's hiftory, p. 181. + Ib. p. 190. fullyerfive

" THE discontents of the nation," says this historian, "ran extremely high, on " account of this violent rupture betwixt "King and parliament. These discon-" tents Charles very imprudently inflamed " by his affectation of a feverity, which " he had not power, nor, probably, will, " to carry to extremity. Sir John El-" liot, Holles, and Valentine, were fum-" moned to their trial in the king's bench, " for feditious speeches and behavior in " parliament; but refusing to answer be-" fore an inferior court for their conduct, " as members of a superior, they were " condemned to imprisonment during the "King's pleafure, to find fureties for their " good behavior, and to be fined, the two " former a thousand pound a-piece, the " latter five hundred. This illegal fen-" tence, procured by the influence of the " crown, ferved only to show the King's " difregard to all the privileges of parlia-" ment, and to acquire an immense stock " of popularity to the fufferers, who had " fo bravely, in opposition to arbitrary " power, Hh2

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power, defended the liberties of their native country *."

THE Ring continued for feveral years to rule without a parliament; and in what manner, we are informed in the following paragraph. "The principles, which ex-" alted prerogative, were not entertained " by the King, merely as fost and agree-" able to his royal ears: They were also put " in practice during all the time, when he " ruled without parliament. Tho' frugal and regular in his expences, he wanted money for the support of government;
and he levied it, either by the revival
of obsolete laws, or by violations, some more open, some more disguised, of " the privileges of the nation. Tho' humane and gentle in his temper, he gave way to severities in the star-chamber " and high commission, which seemed re-" quisite, in order to support the new mo-" del of administration, and repress the ri-

. S. power,

Mr Hume's history, p. 195.

Let. VIII. Mr Hume's History. 245

" fing spirit of liberty throughout the king-

purpole? What security cities mob "

"the farther extention of this claim, Err. In almost all these passages this historian, it would appear, declares against the King's arbitrary principles and manner of government, and in favour of those who endeavoured to oppose them. But his style rises a little higher, and seems to be animated with the full spirit of liberty, when he declaims against the tax of shipmoney. "The imposition of ship-money " is apparently the most avowed and most dangerous invation of national privileges, " not only which Charles was ever guilty " of, but which the most arbitrary Princes " in England, fince any liberty had been " afcertained to the people, had ever ven-" nired upon. In vain, were precedents " of antient writs produced: -how wide were these precedents from a power of " arbitrarily obliging the people, at their " own charge, to build new thips, to vic-" tual and pay them, for the public; nay

^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 205.

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"to furnish money to the crown for that
"purpose? What security either against
"the farther extension of this claim, &c.?

"—Notwithstanding all these reasons,
"the prostituted judges, four excepted,
"gave sentence in favor of the crown.
"Hambden, however, obtained by the
"trial the end, for which he had so ge"nerously sacrificed his safety and his quiet:
"The people were rouzed from their le"thargy, and saw plainly the chains, which
"were prepared for them *."

Upon the whole, then, would not all this feem fully fufficient to afcertain our author's political fentiments, and to fix them on the fide of liberty and the constitution? In these and several other passages, the King's "lofty ideas of monarchical power" are acknowledged, and his arbitrary measures of government arraigned: the names of "practical despotism" and "civil tyran-" ny" are bestowed upon them.——"The "nation was treated like a conquered pro-

^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 218.

[&]quot; vince,"

" vince," and "labored under a compli-" cation of grievances:-Their chains were " held up to them; and the most invidi-" ous prerogative of the crown, that of " imprisoning the subject, was openly, and " folemnly, and in numerous inflances, ex-" ercifed for the most invidious purpose: " The antient freedom of the constitution" was in the greatest danger of being overturned :- " A more submissive nation than " the English would have showed symp-" toms of discontent, at these multiplied " violences and difasters. Their liberties " were in a manner ravished from them, " and illegal taxes extorted:-The inter-" val betwixt the first and second parlia-" ment was diftinguished by many open " and flagrant violations of public liberty: " -The King gave way to feverities in the " ftar-chamber and high commission:-" The principles which exalted prerogative " were put in practice during all the time, " when he ruled without parliament;" (notwithstanding his solemn consent to the petition of right). "Their violations of law," (he fpeaks of the monarchs James and

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and Charles), "particularly those of Charles, " are palpable and obvious The most " unpopular of all Charles's measures, the mak impolitic, the most oppressive, and " even, excepting thip-money, the most " illegal, was the revival of monopolies, " fo foleranly abolished, after re-iterated " endeavors, by a recent act of parlia-"ment | The law, in many instances, " was openly violated !" The tax of Inip-money is ftrongly condemned : Hambden's spirit in opposing it is applauded: the judges who gave sentence in favour of the crown are branded with a very ignominious epithet: and x" the people," we are told, Saw plainly the chains which were As prepared for theminguists saw ment and flagrant violations of public liberty

THESE sentiments, one would be apt to think, might naturally issue in a pretty full vindication of the general conduct of King Charles's four parliaments, nay of the fifth

when he ruled without parliament;

Mr Home's hillory, p. 245. mibashinivelon)

petition of right). I heir zeichallots of

law," (he focaks of the moseschest the

also, at least before the commencement of the civil war. But no fuch thing, it is evident, is intended by this historian of In other passages of the history very different ideas and fentiments are exhibited; of which I shall now give you a specimen. Immediately after his warm declamation against ship-money, and his representation of the miferable state of things in the kingdom, fee the cool, the unexpected and furprifing exordium of the following chapter. "The grievances under which the "English labored, when considered in " themselves, scarce deserve the name." How? Even though they were 15 treated " like a conquered province; had their " liberties in a manner wrested from " them;" were subjected to " illegal im-" prisonments, illegal taxes, to the feve-"rities of the star-chamber and high " commission," and to the other effects of " civil tyranny?" The grievances " under which the English labored, when " confidered in themselves, scarce deserve " the name; nor were they either bur-" thensome on the people's revenues, or any wav

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way shocking to the natural humanity " of mankind." (Can you imagine yourfelf to be reading the same author?) " Even "the taxation of Thip-money, independent of the confequences, was rather an ad-" vantage to the public, by the judicious "use, which the King made of the money, "levied by that expedient. Peace too, "industry, commerce, opulence, along "with justice and lenity of administration: " all these were fully enjoyed by the "people; and every other bleffing of go-" vernment, except liberty, or rather the prefent exercise of liberty, and its Saproper fecurity the agreed and wold " like a conquered province ; had their

Our author had spoke of the intention of the leaders of the house of Commons to oppose arbitrary power, and to defend the liberties of their native country: their defign is said afterward to have been, to "re-" duce the crown to necessities;—and by "multiplying these necessities, it was fore-" seen, that his prerogative, undermined

Was Mr Hume's history, p. 220 od no emoland "

" on all fides, must, at last, succumb, and "be no longer dangerous to the privileges " betwixt privilege and "salqoaq and don!"

charge a variety of precedents, which HE often talks of "Statute laws, of limited " government, and of the antient confti-"tution;" by and by, this constitution is represented as ambiguous, and the most important laws as transitory efforts of popular liberty. It is allowed, that personal liberty was secured by many ancient statutes against arbitrary power in the crown; and yet much may be faid in support of its exercife, and " the subject is not without its difficulties the Had the house of "Commons been always disposed to make " the precedents of that reign" (meaning Elizabeth's) "the rule of their conduct, "they needed never have had any differ-" ence with any of their monarchs t." Mr HUME should have fold us, when it was that the extorted loans, and levied taxes without confent of parliament; and what

Mr Hume's history, p. 238. must be so precaconforded a thick milt over

⁺ Ib. p. 174.

[‡] Ib. p. 30.

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those taxes were. The turbulent government of England, ever fluctuating " betwixt privilege and prerogative, would " afford a variety of precedents, which might be pleaded on both fides *." Because the limits betwixt prerogative and privilege had not been fettled, is it to be thought a doubtful point, whether the parliament had any privileges, or the nation any rights or constitution at all? The whole history of England demonstrates, that it was never an absolute, but a mixed monarchy; and that the royal authority was indeed more or less limited, but still limited in all ages. It follows, therefore, that the principles of arbitrary government, which were openly espoused and put in practice by Charles and his father, were perfectly inconfiftent with the English con-Ritution, and with its most facred and fundamental laws: Nay, this writer upon fome occasions feems inclined to allow that they were to : at other times he endeavours to spread a thick mist over all this subject.

† 1b. p. 171.

1 lb. p. 30.

Mr Hume's biftory, p. 91.

fo the purposed and but laudables of the continue and so convery moderate and continue, and so con-

THAT these principles of government (he had been speaking of arbitrary ones, which prompted the King to impose the tax of thip-money) " were derived from so the uniform tenor of the English laws, selit would be rath to affirm. Doubtless it would, especially as himself elsewhere affirms, that ancient laws opposed them; and that acting according to them in the Thip-money tax was a " most avowed and dangerous invation of national privi-" leges." He goes on the fuctual ting nature of the constitution, the impatient humor of the people, and the wariety of events, had, no doubt, in different ages, produced many exceptions and contradictions in These obserenvations only may be established on both fides, that the appearances were fufficiently strong in favor of the King to apologize for his following fuch maxims, " and that public liberty must be so preca-" rious under this exorbitant prerogative as had " to

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"fable, but laudable, in the people * "So very moderate and cautious, and so confishent too are the sentiments and conclusions of this historian shad mode bad ad

which prompted the King to impole the THE fame caution and confiftency are to be met with in his general remarks on the conduct of both parties towards the beginning of the difinal and defolating civil war. Here I cannot help observing, that, in my judgment, he has done injury to that cause which, it would appear, he meant to fupport; by attempting an apology for the principles and acts of arbitrary power, which were avowed and exerted by the ill-advised and unfortunate monarch. Is it not far more proper, to rest the defence of the royal cause against the parliament, upon the grounds laid down by Lord Clarendon and some other historians? and sto affert, that after his Majesty had passed the triennial bill, that other for the abolition of the star-chamber and high commission, and

" and that public liberty must be so preca-

ot ,,

had

had affented to many excellent and important acts, in order to the fectivity of bjer! fonal and the afcertaining of public liberty, the parliament ought to have been fatisfied, and should not have urged things further, far less to fuch an extremity? It would have been better, perhaps, for our author to have followed this general plan, without deviating into other and more dangerous paths. choien to carry up the impeachment,

His opinion of the Eatl of Strafford's conduct, and his character of Archbishop Laud, are not unworthy of our attention. The house of Commons, delays he, in speaking of the long parliament which met November 3. 1640, was never observed to be, from the beginning, to numerous "and frequent Without any interval, " they immediately entered upon bufiness, " and by unanimous confent they ftruck a blow, which may, in a manner, be regarded as decifive. The Earl of Strafford was confidered as chief minister of " ftate, both on account of the credit, " which he possessed with his master," and " of his own great and uncommon vigor nant

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and capacity of By a concurrence of accidents, this man labored under the fevere hatred of all the three bnations, which composed the British monarchy *. After feveral hours fpent in bitter "invective, it was moved that Strafford "Mould immediately ber impeached of high treason. This motion was received " with universal approbation :- Pym; was " chosen to carry up the impeachment, " and most of the house accompanied him on fo agreeable an errand the la was charged against him, that he had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government: this was what the Commons laboured to prove by a variety of facts contained in the articles of impeachment. Versiber mi vert "

"THESE," fays our historian, of re"garded his conduct, as president of the
"council of Yorke, as deputy or lieute-

" hate both on account of the redict

has Mr. Hume's history, p. 252. Rog and dollfw "

rogit lb. p. 255 no bas have awo sid io

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"nant of Ireland, as counfellor or com-" mander in England. But the four months were employed by the managers " in framing the acculation, and all Straft " ford's answers were extemporary; it ap-"pears from comparison, not only that " he was free from the crime of treaton, " of which there is not the least appear-"ance, but that his conduct, making ale " lowance for human infirmities, expoled "to fuch fevere ferutiny, was innocent, " and even laudable *." It is not enough to acquit him of all blame; his conduct; it feems, is intitled to our ftrong approbation. He had been a favourite minister, at the head of his Majesty's councils, for more than eight years. During that space of time, " the principles which exalted prero-" gative were put in practice;" money was levied, "either by the revival of obfolete " laws, or by violations, fonte more open, fome more disgussed, of the privileges " of the nation; oppressive and illegal mea-"fures" were purfued; "The law, in " fuch of unfels, and purfied fuch courses,

Mr Hume's history, p. 273. or band and as

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" many instances, was openly violated; " and the people faw plainly the chains " which were prepared for them:" yet, after all, the conduct of the prime minister and favourite, who abetted all these illegal and arbitrary measures, and who copied after them so exactly in his government of Ireland, must be now declared to be not only "innocent," but "laudable." They did not however appear to to any one perfon in the house of Commons. The Lords Falkland and Digby, Mr Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, and the other patriot royalists, zealously concurred in Strafford's profecution. One of these Honourable Lords faid of him, that "he committed fo " many mighty and fo manifest enormities "and oppressions in the kingdom of Ire-" land, that the like have not been com-" mitted by any governor, in any govern-" ment, fince Verres left Sicily; and after his Lordship was called over from being " deputy of Ireland, to be in a manner de-" puty of England, he and the junto gave f' fuch counfels, and purfued fuch courfes, " as 'tis hard to fay, whether they were Mujou " more

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" more unwife, more unjust, or more unfor-" tunate." And it was the steady opinion of Lord Digby, " that the Earl of Strafford " was the most dangerous minister, and the " most insupportable to free subjects; and " that his practices in themselves had been " as high and tyrannical as any subject ever "ventured upon *." Nay his Majesty himself, who had been present during the whole trial, declared, in his speech to both houses of parliament, that "tho he " could not condemn him of high treason, " yet as to matters of mildemeanours, he " was fo clear in that, that he did not " think my Lord Strafford fit hereafter to " ferve him or the commonwealth in any " place of trust, no not the meanest." Such was the opinion of the Lords Falkland and Digby, of the whole house of Commons, and of the King himfelf, concerning the Earl of Strafford, whose conduct is by this historian said to have been, not only "innocent," but " laudable." and finite grown races, in come us, that a thore was an in-

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Son q Lynollik Complete.

^{*} Parliament. history, vol. 9. p. 217.

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In drawing the character of Archbishop Laud, he tells us, among other things, that "his zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, in imposing, by the " most rigorous measures, his own tenets " and pious ceremonies on the obstinate "Puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his ho-" ly purposes, he overlooked every human " confideration; or, in other words, the heat and indifcretion of his temper " made him neglect all views of prudence, " and all rules of good manners. He was, " in this respect; happy, that all his ene-" mies were also declared enemies to loyal-"ty and true piety, and that every exercise " of his revenge, by that means, became " a merit and a virtue. This was the " man, &c. +." He was not fo " happy" in every period of his life, even according to Mr Hume's own account; who, in talking of the procedure of the house of Commons against Strafford, Laud, and some others, informs us, that "there was an in-* Parliament Millor Allo b at 7.

^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 200.

Let. VIII. McHUME's HISTORY. 261

" tire concurrence and unanimity" amongst them; and that " men of the most mor "derate tempers, and the most attach "ed to the church and monarchy, exerted " themselves, with the utmost vigor in the " redrefs of grievances, and in profecuting " the authors of them *." The truth is the Puritans were not the only persons who condemned the conducts of this prelate. Very many of the church's best friends; and who were all along conformilts to its government and liturgy, were highly difpleafed with fome of his innovations, with the superstitious spirit that was discovered in them, and with the haughty and arbitrary manner of their imposition But though it had been otherwife, why should they be Ryled "enemies to true piety," who opposed these, and who entertained harsh, or perhaps mean thoughts of the perion who acted this part? Has not this historian himfelf poured out a fufficient portion of ridis cule on " the fuperstitious prelate," in two or three following pages? where he talks THU the Punitans in England have the

Mr Hume's history, p. 259.

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of those "infignificant ceremonies," of which he was fo fond, and of "that me-" chanical devotion, which was proposed "to be raifed in his model of religion." Is it owing to inadvertency, or to fomething worse, that what is termed "mechanical devotion" in one paragraph, should be called "true piety" in another? Is he to be understood as giving his own opinion in the one fentence, and in the other that of the Archbishop? Or, are we to conclude that there are certain words, which our author fometimes uses, without having affixed any determined ideas to them? However that may be, as the Puritans appear to be the objects of his constant and violent aversion, on account both of their religious and civil principles, it is not enough to fay that they were "enemies, de-"clared enemies to true piety;" they are alfo, all of them, without exception, to be confidered as downright rebels, and "de-"clared enemies to loyalty." ad a solo or three following mages as where he talks

Thus the Puritans in England have the

fame character bestowed upon them, which, with equal truth and candor, he had before conferred on their brethren in Scotland *, when he called them "determi-

he is inclined to change his fiele, as when

" Upon the flightest attention to his history, any one must perceive in what an extraordinary manner he has strained every thing against them. See, for instance, how he speaks of the ancient confession of faith, in which the tenets of Popery were condemned. "This famous coverant "confifted first of a renunciation of Popery, formerly " figned by James in his youth, and composed of the most " furious and most virulent invectives, with which any " human beings had ever inflamed their breaft to an unre-" lenting animolity against their fellow-creatures," p. 227. High founding words thefe, which might have been referved to a more proper place, as there was furely no fort of occasion for them in talking of a confession of faith, which renounced the errors and corruptions of the Roman church. Again, concerning the eccleliastical government in Scotland, "Without accuser," says he, "without summons, without trial, any eccleliastical court, however inferior, could, in a fummary manner, pronounce a " fentence of excommunication, for any cause, and against " any person, even tho' he lived not within the bounds " of their jurisdiction. And, by this means, the whole "tyranny of the inquisition, tho' without its order, was " introduced into the kingdom," p. 64. An establishment this which, I believe, was never heard of till this time: In thort, these and the like passages may be well referred to that species of history commonly called romancewriting.

Laneric

"I ned enemies to monarchy, by principle sas well as inclination." When he is in a warm fit of zeal against them, he uses this language; but in his cooler moments he is inclined to change his style, as when he speaks of King James, "He frequently "inculcated a maxim, which tho' it has " some foundation, is to be received " with great limitations, No Bishop, no " King ";" and again, " The Presbyte-" rians were, by their principles, the least " averse to regal authority; the Independ-" ents were refolute to lay the foundations " of a republican government +;" once more, he thus characterises one of the three parties in Scotland, in the year 1648; The moderate Presbyterians, who endea-" voured to reconcile the interests of reli-" gion and the crown, and hoped, by fupor porting the Presbyterian party in Eng-" land, to suppress the Sectarian army, " and re-inflate the parliament, as well as "King, in their just freedom and autho"rity: The two brothers, Hamilton and

[•] Mr Hume's history, p. 10.

[†] Ib. p. 416.

[&]quot; Laneric,

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"Laneric, were leaders of this party," and every one knows that they made a hold effort to accomplish their defign. But to return & mann balt and shift to an atalana

He quited to meet an afcendant overst beiles. WHAT shall we make of the latter part of the above remarkable paragraph? "He " was, in this respect, happy, that all his " enemies were also declared enemies to " loyalty and true piety, and that every " exercise of his revenge, by that means, " became a merit and a virtue." Is this his own conclusion? or was it that of the Archbishop? Be whose conclusion it will the fentiment is thoroughly bad, and perfectly fimilar to the maxim of deprayed cashists, and dishanest politicians, which teaches, That the means are fanclified by the end, or that base and unworthy actions may be justified by a good intention. Thus vice and virtue may lose their names; and the exercise of revenge, or of any other criminal paffion, may be not only favoured with the appellation of virtue, but be also dignified with the title of merit. And could one who meant to reflect a dishonour Ll

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on the King, have done it more effectually, than by subjoining the following sentence to the character he had given of this prelate? "This was the man, who ac"quired so great an ascendant over Charles,
"and led him, by the superstition of his
"temper, into a conduct, which proved
"so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms."

THERE is but one other passage of this history, upon which I would at prefent offer a few reflections. We have feen Mr HUME's account of the original grounds of diffention betwixt the King and the parliament; in which he has taken notice of the illegal and arbitrary measures which had been carried on during the space of fourteen years, and of the general intention of the parliament to redress past grievances, and to provide a barrier against the irruption of arbitrary power in time to come: and thus the struggle betwixt liberty and prerogative gave rise to the civil war. "Their viola-"tions of law, particularly those of Charles, " are palpable, and obvious, and were, " generally speaking, transgressions of a " plain

Let. VIII. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 267.

" plain limit, which was marked out to " royal authority. But the encroachments " of the Commons, though less positive " and determinate, are no less discernible " by good judges, and were equally cab " pable of destroying the just ballance of " the constitution. While they exercised " the powers, transmitted to them, in a " manner more independent, and less " compliant, than had ever before been " practifed; the kings were, imprudently; " but, as they imagined, from necessity; " tempted to affume powers, which had " scarce ever been exercised or claimed by " the crown. And from the shock of "these opposite pretensions arose all the " factions, convulsions, and diforders, " which attended that period *." The fense of all this is perfectly plain. How furprifing then to have this fubject prefented to us, in fo very different a light, by the same author, in the following paragraph? at minered nichos all he have

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Mr Hume's hiftory, p. 245. von said worth

of Ir may be worth lobferving," fays he, " that all the historians, who lived near "that age, or what is perhaps more deci-"dive, all authors, who have cafually "made mention of those public transac-"tions, fill represent the civil disorders " and convulfions as proceeding from reli-" gious controversy, and consider the podifferes about power and liberty " as intirely fubordinate to the other. "Difuse of parliaments, imprisonment and profecution of members, thip-money, an arbitrary and illegal administration; these were loudly, and not without reason, complained of: But the grievances, which tended chiefly to enflame the " parliament and nation, especially the lateter, were, the furplice, the rails placed " about the altar, the bows exacted on apor proaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the labbath, embroidered copes, lawn-" fleeves, the use of the ting in marriage, " and of the cross in baptism. On account " of these, were both parties contented to " throw the government into fuch violent " convulsions; and to the difgrace of that " age

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"age and of this illand, it must be ac-

"land intirely, and those in England most-

" ly, proceeded from formean and con-

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the besing fourth about which the real of Bor let us confider this matter a little, without being afraid of the peremptory affertion concerning the universal cagreement of historians, which, by the way, our author himself should have remembered on other occasions, and particularly when he wrote the paragraph which I quoted to you immediately before this laft. One would be apt to think, that the dispute about the habits, which make fo good a figure in this palfage, had now become a matter of the highest consequence, and had been warmly agitated betwint the King and parliament, so that we should meet with it every where in the papers that paffed on both fides. But, for my part, I doubt whether it is to be once found in any one of them, to far is it from being an duce a teneral and buton of channels of

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Mr Hume's hiftory, p. 266.

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important ground of difference and animofity. The Archbishop's superstitious innovations were indeed condemned by the Commons; neither were they defended by the King.—As little did he adhere to the book of sports, about which the zeal of the high-church clergy had been heretofore fo strenuously exercised. James's "decla-" ration to encourage recreations and fports " on the Lord's day," was renewed by his fon in the year 1633; who fays in his proclamation, that, "out of a like pious care " for the service of God, and for suppress-" ing of those humors that oppose truth, " and for the ease, comfort and recreation of his Majesty's well deserving people, " he doth ratify his bleffed father's de-" claration." This ratification, however, was attended with fatal effects to multitudes of the clergy, who would not violate their consciences by reading a declaration which they accounted finful, as it licenfed the profanation of the Lord's day, and tended to efface a sense of religion, and to introduce a general diffolution of manners among the vulgar. Was this a proper fubject important

ject on which feverities should have proceeded against the ministers of religion; and in the courts of bishops too? where they were fulpended, deprived, excommunicated No less than thirty within the bounds of the diocese of Norwich met with this treatment. So very warm was the zeal of ecclefiaftical courts in fo very shameful a cause. let us take no advantage of his

THE liturgy then is the only remaining article that is of any consequence; concerning which, the house of Commons petitioned, that it should be reformed. This was a part of one of the nineteen propositions which they fent to the King in June 1642, two months before the war broke out: neither did he altogether reject the request. The two last articles of his paragraph, "the ring in marriage, and crofs in baptism," are put in, I suppose, merely to heighten the ridicule and contempt which he intends to excite. But how has it happened, that, in all this enumeration of particulars, he should have forgot the most important point of all, namely, the difforte about

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about the hierarchy or episcopal government concerning which I could almost venture to affirm, that all historians who mention the differences relative to the church, lay most stress upon this article, which he has entirely omitted: and therefore he can by no means plead their authority in support of what he now avers.

But let us take no advantage of his omitting to speak of the hierarchy; and let us suppose that he had taken notice of it, as he ought to have done: I will proceed to affert, that the differences about church-government and the liturgy were not the chief causes of the unhappy breach betwixt the King and parliament, which issued in a civil war; that "the political disputes about "power and liberty" were not considered "as entirely subordinate" to those other matters; and that they are not so represented even by those historians who most favour the royal cause.

WITHOUT multiplying quotations, let these points be referred to the decision of

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an author who must be reckoned unexceptionable on this subject; to the Noble historian of the civil wars. Dees his Lordhip " represent the civil diforders and convul-" figna as proceeding from religious con-"troverfy?" and does he " confider the "rdifputes about power and liberty," about the arbitrary power which had been for uniformly exercised by the crown, to the vialation of the laws and liberties of the fubject; 155 as intirely subordinate to the do-"ther?" Lord Clarendon's fense of things will be known, by attending to a few pale fages of his history. neve trag rojam ent "

- In his entry on the history of the long parliament, in the third book, his words are thefe. "" In the house of Commons were many persons of wisdom and gras-" vity, who being possessed of great and 15 plentiful fortunes, tho' they were unde-" voted enough to the court, had all ima-" ginable duty for the King, and affection " to the government established by law or " antient cultom; and without doubt the " major part of that body confifted of " men Mm

" wiso fill continued with them. were cor-

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"men who had no mind to break the " peace of the kingdom, or to make any " confiderable alteration in the government of church or flate *." And indeed, in about a fortnight after their meeting, it was refolved, that none should fit in their house, but such as would receive the communion according to the usage of the church of England. When the civil war broke out, many of them went to join the King; yet Lord Clarendon fays, in relation to the temper of the house, in the beginning of the year 1643, that "very much " the major part even of those members " who still continued with them, were cor-" dially affected to the (church) govern-" ment established, at least not affected to " any other +." His Lordship has drawn the characters of those who were most distinguished in both houses of parliament, in which I cannot discern the least vestige of those ideas which Mr HUME has suggested to us. "The Earl of Bedford had no defire that

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to the covernment effablished by law or

^{*} Clarendon's hiftory, b. 3. p. 184. (ed. 1705.) there + ld. b. 6. p. 117.

Let VIII. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 273

there should be any alteration in the go-"vernment of the church. The Earl "of Effex was rather displeased with the so person of the Archbishop, and some other " bishops, than indevoted to the function's and he was as much devoted as any man to the book of common prayer, and obliged all his fervants to be constantly " prefent with him at it; his houshold " chaplain being always a most conformse able man, and a good scholar . In " truth," adds he, " in the house of Peers "there were only at that time taken notice of the Lords Say and Brooke, as politive enemies to the whole fabrick of the " church, and to defire a diffolution of that government; the Earl of Warwick "himself having never discovered any aversion to Episcopacy, and much professed the contrary. In the house of Commons, though of the chief leaders, Nathaniel Fiennes, and young Sir Harry " Vane, and shortly after Mr Hambden, who had not before owned it, were be-A thomas more than the Bart of BC

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^{*} Clarendon's history, b. 3. p. 233. 234. &c.

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Slieved to be for root and branch a which " grew thortly after a common expression, and discovery of the several tempers yet "Mr Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr Hollis, nor say of the northern men, or " those lawyers who drove on most furioully with them; all who were pleafed "with the government itself of the "church." His Lordthip proceeds to inform us, that " the first design that was entertained against the church, and "which was received in the house of "Commons with a visible countenance " and approbation of many, who were neither of the fame principles non purpoles, " was a thort bill that was brought in, to " take away the bishops votes in parlia-" ment, and to leave them out in all com-" missions of the peace, of that had rela-"tion to any temperal affairs of This was "contrived with great deliberation and " preparation, to dispose men to consent " to it : and to this many of the house of "Peers were much disposed; and amongst " them, none more than the Earl of Ef-" fex, and all the popular lords, who ob-Lovoil " Minz " ferved.

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"thing which directly appoind the King's interest, by reason of the number of the bishops, who, for the most part, usianismoully concurred against it; and appoind many of their other designs: and they believed, that it could do the church no harm, by the bishops having fewer diversions from their spiritual charges. In the house of Commons they used that, and other arguments, to remove the prejudice from it."

Thus far his Lordship: with whose representation other writers agree. (I do not
say all; as I cannot pretend to have read
"all the historians who lived near that
"age," and far less "all authors who
"have casually made mention of those
"public transactions.") And according to
this account, the house of Commons, so far
from having been inflamed with zeal against
the ecclesiastical government and liturgy,
was generally well affected towards both;
so that the question relative to the exclusion
of bishops from their seats in parliament,

was

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was confidered as fubordinate to those which regarded the interests of the state The Commons had early expressed their displeasure with the canons of the late convocation, which continued to fit after the diffolution of the preceding parliament. "The new canons," fays Lord Clarendon, were infifted on, as a most palpable in-" vafion by the whole body of the clergy, " upon the laws and liberty of the people;" fo that the house of Commons declared, " that these canons contained in them " matter of fedition, and reproach to the "regal power; prejudicial to the liberty " and property of the subject, and to the " privileges of parliament *." This was the light in which they viewed them; and their resolutions against them were unanimous. They were likewife extremely offended at the various oppressions and feverities which, for some time past, had been exercised by the ecclesiastical courts: but many declared with warmth against thefe, who, notwithstanding, firmly adheto that the quelting release so the exclusion

Clarendon's history, b. 3. p. 204. 206. | 10

red to episcopal government. The great Lord Falkland, for instance, even in that famous speech of his, in which he concludes for the continuance of this government, talks in the following manner of the conduct of those who had the management of church-affairs; "who," fays his Lordthip, " have brought in superstition and "fcandal under the title of decency, and "have been less eager on those who damn " our church, than on those who on weak " conscience, and, perhaps, as weak rea-"fon, only abstain from it. Nay, it has been more dangerous for men to go to a neighbouring parish, when they had "no fermon in their own, than to be ob-"ftinate and perpetual recusants. While " mass has been said in security, a conven-"ticle has been a crime; and which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies has been more exacted than the con-" forming to Christianity. The truth " is, as some ministers in our state first " took away our money, and afterwards " endeavoured to make our money not " worth taking, by depraving it; fo these ce men number

somen first depressed the power of preachstring; and then laboured to make it fuch. er as the harm had not been much, if it " had been depressed; the chief subjects of their fermons being the jus divinum of bishops and tithesy the facredness of the clargy, the facrilege of impropriations, the demolishing of Puritanism, " the building up of the prerogative, &c. In thort, their work has been, to try how much of the Papift might be brought in " without Popery; and to destroy as much as they could of the gospel, without " bringing themselves in danger of being defreyed by the law!" His Lordship mentions the injury they had done to the rights and liberties of the nation; and then he adds, "I have represented no finall quantity, and no mean degree of guilt; but this charge does not lie against epifcopacy, but against those who have st abused that facred function." He gives his opinion for that form of government, speaks of some bishops with honour, is for retrenehing a part of their power, and agrees, " that no ceremonies, which any " number

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" number count unlawful, and no man counts necessary, should be imposed up-" on them "." Such was his Lordship's fense of things; in which other patriot royalifts in the house concurred, who aimed at a redrefs of grievances, without overturning the constitution of the church. And upon all this matter a late accurate historian has given his judgment in these words. It appears to me, that there was no formed defign as yet (in the year 1641), either in the house of Commons, or a-" mong the Puritan clergy, to subvert the "hierarchy, and erect the Presbyterian go-" vernment upon its ruins. So that what was done in the house of Commons afterwards, was the refult of the fituation ss of their affairs, and not of any formed se defign: As that changed, so did their councils and measures."

The result of all is, that the debate about the government of the church, which, however, is not mentioned by Mr

number of the columnies of

things

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Rufhworth, quoted by Neal, vol 2. p. 423-

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HUME in the paragraph above quoted, was not the chief cause of the fatal breach betwixt the parliament and the King, in the year 1642; and that in talking of this breach he had but little occasion to reckon up the most part of the particulars there inferted; fuch as, the Archbishop's innovations, which had been suppressed; what concerned the book of sports, which was not infifted in; and the habits of clergymen, which were hardly, if at all, named. Nav. after the canons of the convocation had been rendered ineffectual, after the suppresfion of the high commission, and putting an end to the arbitrary severities of the ecclefiaftical courts; and even after the act had passed, which excluded the bishops from a feat in the house of peers, and the rest of the clergy from any temporal jurisdiction; yet, after all, the civil discords still continued, which iffued in the calamities of war. The causes of this you will find in every history; perhaps in few more imperfectly than in that of our author. Let me quote one passage more from Lord Clarendon, in which he discloses the state of things

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things at that period, in his affigning reafons for his Majesty's soft answer to the declaration of the two houses, which, in February 1642, was presented to him.

- de lis ni spirabileco lubrabion dijus a " But they again," fays his Lordship, " who confider and remember that junc-" ture of time; the incredible disadvantage " his Majesty suffered, by the misunder-" ftanding of his going to the house of " Commons, and by the popular mistake " of privilege of parliament, and confe-" quently of the breach of those privile-" ges: and, on the contrary, the great " height and reputation the factious party " had arrived to, the stratagems they " used, and the infusions they made into " the people, of the King's difinclination " to the laws of the land; and especially, " that he had confented to all those ex-" cellent laws made this parliament, of "which the people were possessed, very " unwillingly, and meant to avoid them: " that the Queen had an irreconcileable " hatred to the religion professed, and to " the whole nation, and that her power caligally Nn 2 " was

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was unquestionable: that there was a " defign to fend the Prince beyond the " feas, and to marry him to fome Papift: " above all, (which the principal of them, " with wonderful confidence, in all pla-" ces avowed to be true), that the rebellion " in Ireland was formented, and countenan-" ced at leaft, by the Queen, that good " terms might be got for the Catholics in " England: I fay, whoever remembers " all this will conclude, that it concern-" ed his Majefty by all gentleness and con-" descension to undeceive, and recover men to their Tobriety and understand-"ing," &e. *. A great deal more might be quoted: but the subject is so plain, and To well known, that more, I think, is unnecessary; as it is likewife to add any further reflections on our author's scheme in the above paffage. Only read it again, and then decide concerning it. ' It may be worth observing, that all the historians, who lived near that age, or what perhaps is more decifive, all authors who have

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Clarendon's history, b. 5. p. 465.

" cafually made mention of those public "transactions, Still represent the civil dif-" orders and convultions as proceeding from " religious controverfy, and confider the " political disputes about power and liberty " as intirely fubordinate to the other. "But the grievances, which tended chief-"ly to enflame the parliament and nation, "especially the latter, were, the furplice, " the rails placed about the altar, the bows " exacted on approaching it, &c. On ac-"count of thefe, were both parties contented to throw the government into " fuch violent convultions; and to the dif-" grace of that age and of this island, it " must be acknowledged, that the difor-" ders in Scotland intirely, and those in " England mostly, proceeded from formean "and contemptible an origin." demonstrate his a line than to the dail

HE may for himself acknowledge what he pleases, and may thence draw what conclusion he thinks proper; but let him not impose a necessity on others, who, as they fee no reason for such acknowledgement, cannot subscribe to his conclusion.

LET us now talk a little, and but a little, of the state of things in Scotland at that time. It is fully represented by several authors, particularly by Bishop Burnet in his memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton; whose testimony I might make use of on this occasion. But as I am always best pleased with what assistance may be had from Mr Hume himself, and as this is the shorter method, I shall go on to prove, from his own account of the matter elsewhere, that "the disorders in Scotland did "not intirely proceed from that origin," to which he now refers them.

With regard to the first commotions in Scotland in the year 1637, he acquaints us, that the nobility were exceedingly offended at the King's increasing the power of the bishops, and his raising them to the chief dignities of the state; so that "interest "joined itself to ambition, and begot a jea-"lousy, lest the episcopal sees, which, at "the reformation, had been pillaged by the "nobles, should again be enriched at their "expence.—The King too, warranted "by

"grace, of that agree and of this istand," it

Let. VIII. Mr HOME'S HISTORY.

" by antient law and practice, had declared for a general refumption of all " crown-lands alienated by his predecef-" fors. A new oath was arbitrarily " exacted of intrants [into the ministry]. " in which they fwore to observe the ar-" ticles of Perth, and fubmit to the liture gy and canons. And in a word, the whole fystem of church-government, " during a course of thirty years, had been " changed, by means of the innovations " introduced by James and Charles *." Then he talks of the general fear of Popery, and of the fuspicions which were entertained in relation to the tendency of these innovations: Amidst these dangerous " complaints," adds he +, "and terrors of religious grievances, the civil and ecse clefiaftical privileges of the nation were " Imagined, and with fome reason, not to " be altogether free from invation. The " establishment of the high commission by James, without any authority of law, etholist and importantly of the fore-

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Mr Hume's history, p. 221. 222. med Mb. p. 223 manageri flom - air . Arriera

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" was an evident and a very confiderable encroachment of the crown; and erected " the most dangerous and arbitrary of all " courts, in a manner equally dangerous " and arbitrary. All the steps towards " the fettlement of Episcopacy had in-"deed been taken with confent of par-" liament : The articles of Perth were " confirmed in 1621: In 1633, the King " had obtained a general ratification of " every ecclefiastical establishment: But " all these laws had less authority with the " nation, that they were known to have e paffed contrary to the fentiments even of se those who voted for them, and were in reality extorted by the authority and imst portunity of the fovereign. The means, " however, which both James and Charles " had employed, in order to influence the es parliament, were intirely regular;" How? were intirely regular, when in the very preceding fentence he had faid, that " these laws were extorted by the au-" thority and importunity of the fove-According to Bishop Burnet's account, the most important of them paffed

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passed in a way that was yet a little more shameful*]; "and no reasonable pretext "had been afforded for representing these "laws as null or invalid." A little after he says,

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" In this act of 1633, their acts of 1606, and 1609, " were drawn into one. To this great opposition was " made by the Earl of Rothes, who defired the acts might be divided: but the King faid, It was now one act, and " he must either vote for it or against it. He said, he was " for the prerogative as much as any man, but that ad-"dition was contrary to the liberties of the church, and " he thought no determination ought to be made in such matters without the confent of the clergy, at leaft, with-" out their being heard. The King bid him argue no more, " but give his vote; so he voted, Not content. Some " few lords offered to argue; but the King stopped them, and commanded them to vote. Almost the whole " Commons voted in the negative : fo that the act was in-" deed rejected by the majority: which the King knew; " for he had called for a lift of the members, and, with his own pen, had marked every man's vote: yet the "clerk of register, who gathers and declares the votes, " faid it was carried in the affirmative. The Earl of Rothes " affirmed it went for the negative: but the King faid, "The clerk of register's declaration must be held good, " unless the Earl of Rothes would go to the bar, and ac-" cuse him of fallifying the record of parliament, which " was capital: and in that case, if he should fail in the " proof, he was liable to the same punishment: so he would not venture on that. Thus the act was publish-00 ed,

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fays, " The canons for establishing eccle-"fiaftical jurifdiction were promulgated in 1635; and by the nation were received, "tho without much appearing opposition, vet with great inward discontent and ap-" prehension. Men felt displeasure, at see-" ing the royal authority so highly exalted " by them, and represented as absolute and " uncontrolable. They faw these speculative " principles of despotism reduced to practice, and a whole body of ecclefiaftical laws " established, without any previous consent " either of church or state: They dread-" ed, that, by a parity of reason, like arbi-" trary authority, from like pretexts and " principles, would be affumed in civil " matters *." And in a following page, he thus concludes: "In short, religion ming-" ling with faction, private interest with the " fpirit of liberty, symptoms appeared, on

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[&]quot;ed, though in truth it was rejected. The King expressed a high displeasure at all who had concurred in that opposition," &c. Burnet's summary of affairs before the restoration.

^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 224.

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rection and diforder "." nings opens "

es cally continue one, that the provocation Upon the whole, then, it may be deduced from his own narrative, that a combination of circumstances very different in their nature, gave rise to the first commotions in Scotland: and a proper attention to these might have checked his career of infult, and disposed him to a milder strain with respect to his countrymen, than is to be found in the fentence transcribed above, and in many other passages of this history. I know no one who pretends to justify all the counsels and measures of those times: but no candid reader can approve of fuch partial representations, and far less, of such abusive and reproachful language, as is only to be matched by the style of certain anniverfary declamations. The following reflection of Bishop Burnet must needs appear extremely just, when he finishes his fhort summary of history on this subject in these words: "The violence with which

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^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 226.

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" that kingdom did almost unanimously

" engage against the administration, may

" eafily convince one, that the provocation

" must have been very great, to draw on

" fuch an entire and vehement concur-

their nature, gave

" rence against it."

BUT I have gone further in this letter than I had at first intended, though I have confined myfelf to things most material, and chiefly to Mr Hume's speculations on the English government, and on the general grounds of difference between the King and parliament, from the beginning of his reign to the eve of the civil war. As to the manner in which it was carried on, and the various changes in the public counfels, till the army of the Sectaries put an end to the power of the house of Commons, and their leaders formed the daring defign of bringing the King to a public trial, and executed the fentence, which in their extraordinary court of judicature they had pronounced against him; I' shall not enter at all into any part of this subject, nor into an examination of our author's narrative, and

and sentiments about it. The nation was reduced to a dismal state; and the hypocrify, the fanaticism and sury of these latter times, may be described in what terms our author pleases. But still the distinction betwixt the prior and latter counsels and views, ought to have been, all along, carefully maintained; neither should the intentions of those in one period be imputed to all who had joined with them in another.

The character that Mr Hume has drawn of King Charles appears to be as little shaded as possible; perhaps rather less so than would have been expected from some parts even of this history. He had formerly said of him, that "in every other "age, or nation, this monarch had been "secure of a prosperous and happy reign "," though in the beginning of a preceding chapter he had told us, that "a more sub-" missive nation than the English, would "have showed symptoms of discontent at "those multiplied violences and disa-

onu and

^{*} Mr Hume's history, p. 199.

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" fters *," which he there mentions. In like manner, near the end of the history, he thus expresses himself concerning the King. " Some historians have rashly " questioned his good faith: But, for " this reproach, the most malignant scru-" tiny of his conduct, which, in every cir-" cumstance, is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation. " On the contrary, if we confider the ex-" treme difficulties, to which he was fo " frequently reduced, and compare the " fincerity of his professions and declara-" tions; we shall avow, that probity and "honor ought justly to be placed among " his most shining qualities. In every " treaty, those concessions, which, he "thought, in conscience, he could not maintain, he never could, by any mo-"tive or perfuasion, be induced to grant +." So he now affures us; but elsewhere he had affirmed what follows. "But this concession" (he speaks of the King's agreeing to rescind the canons, the

27-251 13

Mr Hume's history, p. 167.

[†] Ib. p. 469.

Let. VIII. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 295

liturgy, and high commission in Scotland, in the year 1639) " was gained by " the utmost violence, which he could " impose on his disposition and prejudices: "He even secretly retained an intention " of feizing favorable opportunities, in " order to recover the ground, which he " had loft *;" and again, in relation to his employing Papists in higher or lower offices of truft, "In this particular, they " [the Commons] had, no doubt, fome reason to blame the King's conduct. "He had promifed to the last house of "Commons a redress of this religious "grievance: but he was too apt, in imi-" tation of his father, to confider these opromifes as temporary expedients; " which, after the diffolution of the par-" liament, he was not any farther to re-" gard +." It is quite unnecessary to add any reflections on fuch paffages as these, of which a pretty deal, you see, is to be found in this history. T . Bel napuroiq.

I am, &c. w applivonds

both of there is corrulty fomerhing usna-* Mr Hume's history, p. 235. † Ib. p. 156.

hard y, and high committion in Stok-

East VIII. No Hune & Hune on vi

withe utmost violence, which he could A LATE eminent patron of infidelity has thought fit to express his contempt of their understanding, who do not acknowledge a first and supreme cause; and who, in a furvey of the works of nature, do not perceive the fignatures of divine wildom and power imprinted there, Some of his Lordship's predecessors in freethinking, Tindal, for instance, would probably have talked in like manner of those who, in the same obvious train of reflection, were not led on to the ideas of goodness and justice, and of the moral government of God. If these are excluded from the mind, vain to all the purposes of religion and morality, is the mere speculative idea of a first cause. The foundations of piety are overturned by his Lordship's philosophy, as much as by the tenets of the Epicurean fect. This any one, I think, must acknowledge, who attentively confiders both. There is certainly fomething unnatural in that zeal which is shewn for promoting

"of

moting the principles of irreligion. Can it arise from a steady perfusion of their truth and excellence? Imposible. Can it flow from a love of virtue and of mankind? Surely it cannot : for the irreligious scheme is manifestly subversive of the interests of the former, and of the peace and happiness of the latter. Shall this be attributed to pride, and an affectation of fuperior parts? It may indeed: but the end that is thus in view, can hardly be attained by their writings and speculations about what they may call the first philosophy. On the contrary, in attention to thefe, many are apt to be surprised at the weakness and dotage of understanding, into which a reputed genius may fall, even in those differtations and tracts, in which he would pour reproach on the worthieft names, on the most facred truths, and on human reason itself. The vitious and debauched may be strongly inclined to take fanctuary within the precincts of irreligion: but there is not thing in virtuous minds that can direct them thither. " What would I have to do " in a world devoid of a Deity, and devoid Pp

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" of a Providence *?" This was the language of a philosophic prince of old: it is the language of wisdom and virtue.

Shrinkness to bust surfey do on

THE principles of true piety do undoubtedly demand our regard on account of their native excellence and blifsful effects. The devout character includes in it fuch a fense of the power, goodness, and wisdom of God, of his government and fupreme authority, of our entire dependence on him, of his inspection of our conduct, of his numberless benefits and overflowing mercy, as effectually sways the foul to the fear and love of its creator and benefactor, to a willing subjection to his authority, to an ardent defire of his favour, and a full refignation to his disposal, mingled with humble trust, and with the animating prospects of a future state. This in general is true piety; and these are its natural effects. External worship and obedience flowing from fuch fentiments and dispositions,—this is the fervice, the reasonable service which

^{*} Τί μοι ζιν εν κόσμω κενώ Βεών, ή προνοίας κενώ; Marc. Anton. lib. 2.

Let. IX. Mr HUME'S HISTORY. 299

It has often given me pleasure to observe the regard that is shewn to piety in some of the writings of ancient philosophy; whilst men were directed to acknowledge a presiding providence, at all times, and in all their concerns, and to acquiesce in the divine administration*; to ask the aid of heaven in all their undertakings †; and to render thanks for their success, for their deliverance from dangers, and for all the good things they enjoyed ‡. They were surther told, that it ought to be their general aim in life, to follow God, to con-

^{*—} Ἐμάτθανε παρ' ἀυτὰ περὶ των ἐρανόθεν, ἐρτῆσθαι χ δικονομῶσθαι πάντα. Pythag. in Jamblichi vit. Pythag. c. 32.— Plato et Xenoph. passim de providentia.

^{&#}x27;Ει ταύτη τοῖς Ֆεοῖς φίλον, ταύτη έςω. Plat. Crito, et Epict. enchir. c. 79.

[&]quot;Απλώς μηθίν άλλο θέλε, ή ά θεὸς θέλω. Arrian. Epictet. l. 2. c. 17.
"Εγω σοὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τύτων πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπας ἀπολογήσομαι.
Id. l. 2. c. 16.

Краттоу удр пучили в в Энос Эна, в в гуд. Id. l. 3 c. 26.

[†] Σύν γάρ θεῶ πραττομένων είκὸς ἐ τὰς πράξεις προϊίναι ἐπὶ τω λῶον ἐ ἄμεινον ἀεὶ τῆ πόλει. Xenoph. de provent.

Κελεύων πειρασθαι σύν τοῖς Δεοῖς ἄρχεσθαι πάντος ἔργυ. Id. mem. Socr. l. 5.

Έρ' ἀπασι δὲ Βεθς ἐπικαλῦ. Marc. Anton. 1. 6. § 23.

^{‡ &#}x27;Οπότε εὐτυχοίη Θεοῖς χάριν ἢδω. Xenoph. de Agesilao, et sic nbique, Vid, etiam M. Ant. l. 1. § 14. Arrian, Epictet, l. 1. c. 16. et alibi.

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fent to his will *; and to study a conformity to him, in their becoming just, wise, and holy †. They were put in mind, that the divine presence was ever with them, and they were called to act as under a sense of it ‡, and so to fear the Deity, as neither to perpetrate nor devise what was impious and wicked ||. "Delight thy-" self in this one thing," says the virtuous Emperor, "and rest in it; to be going on "from one kind social action to another, "with remembrance of God **:—for

^{*} Καὶ βίος ἄπας συντίτακται πρὸς ἀκολυδών τῶ διῶ — ἐςόχασθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸ διῶον ὁμολογίας.— δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα πρακτίου, οἶς τυγχάτω ὁ θιὸς χαίρων. Pythag. in Jamblichi vita Pythag. c. 28.

[†] Διὸ ἐ παρᾶσθαι χρὰ ἐνθὲνδε ἐκκου φεύχαν ὅτι τάχισα. φυχὰ
δὲ ὁμοίωσις δεδ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν: ὁμοίωσις δὲ, δίκαιον ἐ ὅσιον μεθα
φρονόσεως γενίσθαι. Plat. Theætet. p. 129.

^{**} Kai isternosum aperin eig ben durarde aropuru budius dat seu. Id. de repub. lib. 16. p. 760. — dand ikomosus dat iauroig ra norma. M. Ant. l. 10. § 8.

[†] Όταν αλείσητε τὰς δύρας, ἐς σκότος ἔνδον πριήσητε, μέμνησθεί μηδέποτε λίγαν, ὅτι μόνοι ἔςε. ἐ γὰρ ἔςε. ἀλλ' ὁ δεὸς ἔνδον ἐςὶ, ἐς ὁ ὑμέτερος δαίμων ἐςὶ. ἐς τὸς τότοις χρεία φωτὸς ἐις τὸ βλέπαν τὶ ποιείτε. Αιτίαn. Ερίετει l. 1. c. 14. Plato l. 10. de rep. p. 760. et alibi.

^{||} Τύτυς φοβώμενοι μήτε ἀσεβές μηθέν, μήθε ἀνόσιον, μήτε ποιή... σητε μήτε βυλεύσητε. Χεπορή. Cyrop. 1. 8.

^{**} Ενὶ τέρπυ ή προσαναπαύυ, τῶ ἀπὸ πράξεως κοινωνικής μεταβαίνων επὶ πράξεν κοινωνικήν, σὺν μνήμη Θεῦ. Μ. Ant. l. 6. § 7.

[&]quot; neither

" neither will you rightly discharge any duty " to men, nor any duty to God, if at the " fame time you regard not the connec-"tion between things human and di-" vine *. The foul is formed for piety " toward God, no less than for justice +;" and so in many other passages. The same fpirit breathes in the following expressions of a celebrated philosopher, who lived at Rome in the age of the Apostles: " Look-" ing up to God in all that you do ‡ .---- I " attend to what men fay, and how they " act; -and I turn in to my felf, to fee if " I too commit the fame faults. -- If I " was formerly liable to them, and am not " now, to God I give the praise ||.--"Stay, mortal: be not rash. The com-" bat is great; the attempt godlike. It is " for fovereignty, for liberty, for a cur-

^{*} Οὖτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἄνευ της ἐπὶ τὰ θῶα συναναφορᾶς εὖ πραξεις, ὅτε ἔμπαλιν. Μ. Ant. l. 3. § 13.

[†] Πρός Βιοσίβειαν κατισκιύας αι έχ' ήττον η πρός δικαιοσύνην. Id.l. 11. § 20.

^{‡ &#}x27;Eis του διον άφορώντας, εν πάντι μικρό & μεγάλω. Arrian. Epictet. l. 2. c. 19.

[∥] Προσίχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις — πότε ἐς ἐγὰ ἡμάρτανον. νῶν ἐἐ ἐκ ἔτι. χάρις τῷ διῶ. Arrian. Epictet. l. 4. c. 4.

" rent of life clear and unruffled. Call to " mind the Deity. Invoke him to be your " affiftant and supporter *.- I know " to whom I owe subjection and obedience; " it is to God +." And to mention but one paffage more: " Had we understanding, " what else ought we to do, both in pu-" blic and private, but to praise God, and " to pour out our thanks before him? " Ought we not, while either digging, " ploughing, or at our meals, to fing this " hymn to God; Great is God! who hath " given us hands, and organs for swallow-" ing and digefting, and who makes us " grow up infenfibly, and breathe even " while asleep. For each of these things-" we ought thus to bless him. --- What " then? Since you the multitude are " blind, ought there not to be some one " to perform this duty in your place; and " pay this hymn to God for you all?-" Were I a nightingale, I would do the

^{*} Μενον τάλας, μη συναρπασθής. μέγας ὁ ἀγών ἐςι.— το θεῦ μέμνησο ἐκείνον ἐπικαλο βοηθόν ὰ παρας άτην. Arrian. Epictet. l. 2. c. 18.

[†] Έγω την υποτετάχθαι τίνι πείσεσθαι δῶ, τω δεῶ. Id. l. 4.c. 12.

[&]quot; bufiness

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- " business of a nightingale:-now that I
- " am a rational creature, I ought to hymn
- " the Deity. This is my bufiness: this
- " I perform: this is my post; and, while
- " I am allowed, I will never leave it. And
- " you I will exhort to join with me in this
- " my fong *." sideotoling ke or shoulding a rear kin W. h

· POLICE OF

SUCH, my friend, were the sentiments of some Pagan philosophers: thus did they honour the pious principle and disposition. To them, therefore, might we appeal on this subject: and this appeal, it would seem, ought to have influence on not a few in our age, who may be, I don't know how, more inclined to regard the sentiments of an ancient philosopher, than the dictates of our holy religion, and the words of an apostle of Christ.

But I was about to fay fomewhat con-

"Ei yap võr eizouer, and ti ede suas noien g noien g idia, i une to seo, g comuen g interpressar tas zapiras, &c. Artian. Epictet. l. 1. c. 16. In like manner, l. 2. 23.

The above quotations are rendered for the most part in the words of a late translation.

cerning

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cerning a few passages of Mr Hume's history, relative to the worship of God.—
Let one of them suffice for a specimen of
this author's turn of mind, and manner of
expression. It is taken from the 396th
page.

" WHATEVER ridicule to a philosophic " mind," fays he, " may be thrown on pi-" ous ceremonies, it must be confessed, " that, during a very religious age, no in-" stitutions can be more advantageous to "the rude multitude, and tend more to " mollify that fierce and gloomy spirit of "devotion, to which they are so subject. "Even the English church, tho' it had " retained a share of Popish superstition, " may justly be thought too naked and un-" adorned, and still to approach too near " the abstract and spiritual religion of the "Puritans. Laud and his affociates, by " reviving a few primitive institutions of " this nature, corrected the error of the first reformers, and presented, to the af-" frightened and aftonished mind, some sen-" fible, exterior observances, which might cerning " occupy

" occupy it during its religious exercises, " and abate the violence of its disappoint-" ed efforts. The thought, no longer bent " on that divine and mysterious Essence, so " fuperior to the narrow capacities of man-" kind, was able, by means of the new " model of devotion, to relax itself in the " contemplation of pictures, postures, vest-" ments, buildings;" only Laud " did " not conduct this scheme with the en-" larged fentiments and cool disposition of a " legislator, but with the intemperate zeal " of a fectary." The meaning of all this is but too manifest; and thus at length these fame "infignificant ceremonies," whose very infignificancy recommended them " to the superstitious prelate *," are to be held as " primitive inftitutions," which are to be confidered as of no small confequence, and worthy the attention of a wife legislator; and "the mechanical devotion " which was proposed to be raised by " them +," must be understood to be recommended to our regard.

* Mr Hume's history, p. 201.

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Bur did this writer think of what he was about, when he ventured to talk, as he hath too often, in a manner fo irreligious, as would have been shocking to the fense of a sober Heathen? Here, my friend, I am at a loss how to proceed. Shall I fpeak of impiety covered with a thin veil? of an attempt, a weak and foolish one indeed, to refolve all piety into superstition or enthusiasm, that it may be thus exposed to reproach and ridicule? Must it not very fenfibly affect every virtuous and good man, to fee religion fo infulted, and its facred principles treated with profane irreverence? Shall I talk of the awful guilt that is thus contracted? and of the deplorable and horrible state of things, in every light, if the fpirit of impiety should spread and prevail? Licentious as are the manners of the age, impiety, I trust, is not its characteristic. Some efforts indeed have been made to propagate its abfurd and pernicious tenets, which even many of those whose morals are not irreproachable, shew themselves disposed to look upon with merited indignation and contempt. How dreadful a thing for any

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one to go about, by opposing the essential truths of religion, to weaken the foundations of human happiness and hope; nay of society itself, and of all truth, justice, and probity among men. And how mean, how sordid the aim, to sink our nature to a level with that of the animal creation? Guilty and unhappy men! who are so asserted, and so prompted. God grant they may be brought to serious reslection, and to a sober mind, ere the heavy pressure of affliction be upon them, and death draw nigh.

fload of its rational sime defices and af-But it is not enough for us to abhor the irreligious scheme: it is of the utmost confequence, that we have a lively fense of the worth and excellency of true piety; which furely doth not confift in abstract speculations, is far different even from a full affent of the understanding to the fundamental articles of religion, and comprehends in it, as I have before observed, many noble difpositions of the heart. What Mr HUME, in one place, calls "the abstract and spi-" ritual religion of the Puritans," is elsewhere nonovoh Qq2

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where defined to be "a mode of wor"fhip,—that borrowed nothing from the
"fenses, but reposed itself intirely on the
"contemplation of that divine essence,
"which discovers itself to the understand"ing only. This species of devotion, so
"suitable to the supreme Being, but so
"little suitable to human stailty *," &c.
Thus will men talk of subjects, to which
they are perfect strangers, even in idea;
while they speak of the imagination, instead of the understanding and will; and of
contemplation and abstract speculation, instead of the rational aims, desires and affections of the soul.

WERE it worth while, I might observe upon this author's representing astonishment and terror as ingredients in the devotion of those whom he would have us to consider as enthusiasts; since, according to all his ideas, these emotions should belong to the superstitious character. But, in truth, he seems to speak of them as ingredients of

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Mr Hume's history, p. 62.

devotion in general. I could wish that this writer would bethink himself a little. Does he point at the dejection and anguish of a guilty mind, and at the contrition of a penitent and humble spirit? I could almost befeech him, not to talk lightly or ludicroufly of this home-felt subject. Is it possible for one in a sober and vacant hour; or, it may be, when folitude and filence are forced upon him by fome painful distress; -is it possible for him to look back on a life spent in folly and vice, and on some of its more guilty scenes, without the fenfations of remorfe and anguish? Can the reflections of conscience be warded off as heretofore, or its judgment and condemnation be evaded, or overawed? Do not these naturally direct our thoughts upward to God, and forward to futurity? Does not one then know and feel himfelf to be a subject of the divine government? And must be not discover one irrefragable proof of his righteous moral government, in these inward perceptions of the immediate difinal confequences of guilt? Is not this according to the general order and conwhole stitution

stitution of things, which the God of nature hath established? and according to that fundamental law of his administration, which allots present and future punishment to the workers of iniquity? Is not this administration here begun? Is it not felt in the breasts of the wicked, as well as exhibited in the melancholy effects of many base and vitious acts? May not this be appealed to the experience and observation of all mankind? Unhappy those persons who have most tasted of the bitter fruits of wickedness; unless these have been to them bleffed of God, I fay, bleffed of God, to become the falutary medicine of their fouls, the means of their being restored to spiritual health, and, by confequence, to inward tranquillity. In those who have the use of their reason, remorfe and fear are, in some degree or other, the attendants of heinous guilt. And when one is thus pained and dejected. whither shall he betake himself for deliverance and peace? Whither indeed, but to that Father of mercies against whom he hath offended, whose laws he hath violated, whofe national)

whose mercies he hath abused, and whose righteous displeasure he hath incurred? Deeply sensible that he has to do with God, in the spirit of humility and contrition he will pour out his requests before him, and ardently implore forgiveness. The anguish of true repentance is softened with the hope of mercy: the riches of divine compassion toward penitent offenders is an amiable and delightful subject. How fully disclosed in the Christian revelation. in its effential doctrines, and in the whole plan of our redemption by the Son of God? In it we are affured, that "God is in Christ " reconciling the world unto himfelf, not " imputing their trespasses unto them." Whofoever in faith and fubmiffion hearkens to this doctrine, and with the spirit of a true penitent returns to his heavenly Father, is accepted in our Redeemer, and bleffed in his falvation. How divinely excellent and truly god-like is all this grace? How is it fuited to pour light, comfort, and joy, into the dark, the doubtful and disconfolate spirit? Thoughts of God as the great legislator and governor of the world, may well

well create difmay and dread in the minds of the guilty and polluted, who know the demerit of wickedness, and feel the misery of internal disorder. But as their recovery is begun, when the fentiments of Christian faith, and the purpoles of genuine repentance, have fully entered into the foul, fo these are blended with hope, and with the pleasing views of mercy and acceptance in our Lord. These, my friend, are not light concerns: undoubtedly they are not: our present peace, our support in trouble, our hopes beyond the grave, and our everlasting felicity are included here. Reason and religion conspire to dictate the 'important truth; which must be assented to by all who believe in God, who regard him as the supreme ruler of the intellectual world, who think worthily of him and of their own rational natures, and who deem themselves to be of a rank of beings superior to the brutes that perish.

But let us take a view of piety or internal worship in its full extent. It supposes the knowledge and belief of the prime articles

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ticles of religion, and it includes in it every becoming affection of foul toward the most high God in all his glory and grace, and in all the relations which he bears to us, as our creator, preserver, benefactor, our redeemer, lawgiver, and judge.

Do we naturally admire what is great, and love what is good, and esteem what is excellent? and should not this admiration, esteem, and love rise up to delightful reverence and adoration, whilst we think of the self-existent Jehovah, the almighty maker of heaven and earth, whose works proclaim his power, intelligence, and goodness, and who is glorious in holiness, justice, and truth?

Do we rightly regard him as the parent of nature, whose energy is ever exerted on the material world, who upholds all things by the word of his power, who directs the motions of the hosts of heaven in their comely array, whose providence is universal, whose goodness is diffusive, and who opens his hand liberally, and satisfieth the desire

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of every living thing? and is no tribute of adoration to be paid, no incense of praise to ascend upward from this lower world, from the rational creation, which is alone capable of such noble acts of gratitude and religious worship? Or should we not rather join in the beautiful and losty hymn of praise, which the great poet puts into the mouths of our first parents in paradise?

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty, thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous
then!

Unspeakable, who sitt'st above these heavens,

To us invisible, or dimly seen
In these thy lowest works: yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'r divine.
Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
Angels, for ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in heaven,
On earth join all ye creatures to extol
Him sirst, him last, him midst, and without
end.—

tis band liberally, and fathfield the define

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Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still To give us only good.

What an elevation of sentiment and language, which flow from a facred source? What a dignity of devotion is here; worthy of our first parents, worthy of a state of innocence? But to proceed:

Do we think of God as "the Father of " our fpirits, in whose hand is our breath " and life, and whose are all our ways; " who holdeth our fouls in life, and fuf-" fereth not our feet to be moved?"-Do we confider ourselves as indeed unworthy of his regard, and yet the objects of his benignity, in a thousand instances, from day to day?-Do we reflect on the gifts and care of his providence; on our being preserved in health or relieved in sickness, shielded from dangers, delivered from impending evils, bleffed in our families, our friends and worldly interefts?-Do we attend to all the effects of his munificence and paternal care?—And must not the soul be penetrated with a lively fense of his infinite goodness, Rr2

goodness, and the tribute of a grateful heart be offered up with facred delight? Do we abhor the thought of stupid infenfibility or of base ingratitude towards a benefactor, a friend, a parent on earth? and can we think lightly of an habitual difregard of God, and of aggravated ingratitude towards our divine benefactor, our heavenly Father? Are we so highly indebted to his bounty, and do we deny him the honour that is due to his name? Is it reafonable, is it fit that it should be so? The mind and heart recoil from the thought as impiously absurd. "O bless our "God, ye people; and make the voice of "his praise to be heard. —Give thanks " unto the Lord, for he is good; for his " mercy endureth for ever. Who can ut-" ter the mighty acts of the Lord? who " can shew forth all his praise? --- Great " and marvellous are thy works, Lord God " Almighty; just and true are thy ways, " thou King of faints. Who shall not fear " thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? " for thou only art holy.- Thine, O "Lord, is the greatness, and the power, " and conducts

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" and the glory, and the majesty: for all "that is in the heaven and in the earth, is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, " and thou art exalted as head above all. " --- Justice and judgment are the habi-" tation of thy throne: mercy and truth " go before thy face. - I will extol thee, " my God, O King, and I will bless thy " name for ever and ever. Every day will " I bless thee, and I will praise thy name " for ever and ever. Great is the Lord, " and greatly to be praised; and his great-" ness is unsearchable. One generation shall " praise thy works to another, and shall " declare thy mighty acts .- They shall " abundantly utter the memory of thy " great goodness, and shall sing of thy " righteousness. The Lord is good to all: " and his tender mercies are over all his " works .- The Lord preferveth all them " that love him: but all the wicked will " he destroy. My mouth shall speak the " praise of the Lord: and let all flesh bless " his holy name for ever and ever-" Bless ye the Lord, all ye his hosts, ye mi-" nifters of his that do his pleasure. Bless " the

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"the Lord, all his works in all places of his dominion: bless the Lord, O my soul." What an assemblage of amiable and august ideas is here presented to us? Well may the mind be enlightened and the heart warmed by such just and sublime conceptions, which are mingled with the sacred energy of devotion.

And does Jehovah reign? the bleffed and only potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, whose dominion endures unto all generations. Reverence therefore and submission are due to him in this venerable character: whilst, as the loyal subjects of his kingdom, we yield a willing obedience to his authority, which is supreme, and to his laws, which are holy, wife, just, and good.

RESIGNATION to the divine will must ever be regarded as a comely disposition of mind, and an essential part of true piety. That his providence superintends all the affairs of this great world, and that good men are the objects of the peculiar

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care of heaven, is to them a doctrine full of comfort and joy. Without it what a wide waste must this world appear to us, and how very desolate the condition of human life? The view of a prefiding, of a particular providence, is as a friendly guide to direct and support the weary traveller in a strange country, where he is encompassed with dangers, and about to be involved in darkness. Well may full refignation and humble affrance be united in the minds of the servants of God; whilst they confider themselves as in his hands, who does all things wifely and well, who alone knows what is best for them, who will never forfake them, who is now training them up for an unfeen and eternal state. who hath invited them to place their confidence in him, and who "will make " all things to work together for good to " them that love him." Refignation and ferenity of foul are the consequences of fuch delightful views and hopes.

I have already spoke of the sentiments and disposition of a humble penitent, when

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he earneftly implores the divine mercy, and fully affents to those important truths which unfold the wisdom and grace of the mediatorial scheme. In it there is a firm foundation laid, not only for our present inward peace, but likewife for every exalting and ennobling hope. Thus too are we brought under new and endearing obligations to the fervice of our God and Saviour, which must be ever suitably regarded by all who are interested in the blessings of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, and who would approve themselves his alone landway what it both for them, who

In the furvey of the wondrous scene ofinfinite goodness that is exhibited to us in the gospel, must not the pious principle of gratitude be still more cherished in our spirits? whilst we attend to the display of adorable wisdom and love for our recovery from a state of fin and death, and our being called to the hope of life and glory, through Jesus our Lord. He must be considered as devoid of the spirit of a Christian, who is not affected in this manner.

manner. In all the acts of piety too are we to be encouraged by those peculiar doctrines of our holy faith, which lead us to consider Jesus the Saviour as our mediator and intercessor, through whom we are invited to draw nigh to God, and in whose prevailing name the humble and the upright are accepted. An important idea this, which must run through all the acts of Christian worship.

aims, and affections are now to be directed.

but ever so little on ourselves, and on our present state, without perceiving that we are, in truth, weak, indigent, and dependent creatures? And is it not most proper for us, in every respect, to cultivate in our minds a sense of our absolute dependence on God? Thus are we taught to acknowledge him in all our ways, to ask the supply of all our wants, and to commend ourselves at all times to his guardianship and guidance. They who sear and serve him, may indeed be persuaded, that his power, goodness, and wisdom will not be inactive, but will be exerted in their behalf, not on-

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ly with regard to the concernments of this transient state, but also with respect to those of another and a better world. Thus may they hope to grow in grace and goodness, to be delivered from the dangerous fnates of fin, to be guided and animated in the paths of righteoutness and religion, and to be fitted for entering into that pure and perfect state, to which they now look forward, and whither their defires, their aims, and affections are now to be directed. He who formed the spirit of man, well knows every way of access tolit, and in what manner it may be influenced. Is it the language both of religion and of true philosophy, that we are dependent creatures; and shall this dependence be acknowledged in our less important interests, and the thought of it be rejected with relation to those of the highest moment? Is the divine agency confessed in the material world, and shall it be denied in the intellectual ? Would a rational creature of God, fenfible of internal maladies and weakness, aspire after spiritual health and purity, and lift up his supplications for divine

vine aid i and will these be disregarded by our heavenly Father? Are we naturally prompted to look upwards, in every feafon of diffress and need; and shall the upright and pious do fo in vain? de If ye being " evil," fays the Redeemer of men, "know " how to give good gifts unto your chilffi dren, how much more shall your Fa-" ther which is in heaven give the Holy "Spirit, and all good things; to them that "alk him?" The doctrine of divine affiftance is in itself most rational, and is well fuited to our ideas of the goodness of God; and of the illustrious manifestation of it in the Christian scheme; in which the clearest promifes of his abundant grace are contained: It must be acknowledged, itis true, that this doctrine hath been too oft perverted to the purpoles of floth and prefumption on the one hand, and of wild enthufiafm on the other of But is there any thing new; any thing extraordinary in all this? The wifest doctrines and the most salutary truths have in every age been liable to the mifrepresentations of ignorance, and to the perversions of vice and folly. relations

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124 LETTERS of Let. IX

LET me likwise remind you, that a sacred regard to God as ever present with us, and an habitual study to approve ourselves to him, are effential ingredients in true piety, and of the most commanding influence on the heart and life.

they to give good gifts unto your chil-

Upon the whole, Is there any thing in all this subject that is not perfectly agreeable to the dictates of our pureft reason? Is not all veneration due to the eternal God. the Creator of the world, the Father of our spirits, glorious in holiness and goodness, supreme in authority and power? Lis not our lively gratitude, though a poor, yet a proper return to his benignity, his munificence and mercy to the children of men? Do we not owe all subjection to his authority, and an unlimited refignation to his will? Is it not most fit, and does it not tend to our greatest good, to cherish the thoughts of our entire dependence on him in all regards, and humbly to commit ourfelves to his grace and protection? As the Christian revelation has given us some newdiscoveries of the glory of God, and of the relations

relations which he bears to us, does it not become us to attend diligently to these, and to be fuitably affected by them? If conscious of guilt, if truly penitent on account of it, and earneftly concerned for remission; should we not pour out our desires before him, who has mercifully invited us to draw nigh in Jefus our Lord? Are we ever in his prefence, and should we not revere it? Are we accountable to him for our conduct ; and should we not study now to be accepted, that we may be for ever that's are felt, they will be corrected belled

ALL this is true piety: this is the worship of the mind and heart : these are sentiments and dispositions strictly rational and truly excellent, which are obviously founded in right apprehensions of ourselves, and of God. What shall we think of the state of an intelligent creature who is wholly a ftranger to them, and who lives " with-"Out God in the world?" Is not this a base and unworthy habit of soul, which we must strongly condemn? and is not such a one engaged in an ungrateful, a criminal, tendency

the frequency, of fuch age tends to con-

and impious, nay ine a fordid and contemps tible course of life, that is separated from all noble views, when the fo behaves, and fo perfifts of no The reasonableness, the worth, the amiableness and excellency of true piety are if o perspicuous to an attentive mind, that it would feem they must be acknowledged in theory by all who believe in God, even by those who have never felt its benign influence in their own spirits. External acts of worthip are the propersexpressions of devout dispositions. If these are felt, they will be expressed and the frequency of fuch acts tends to confirm the pious habits i As the spirit of diffusive benevolence is the true Christian fpirit, fo it will enter into our private and focial worthip; whilft we render thanks to our God for the various gifts of his bounty and love, not only to ourselves but to our fellow Christians, and all our brethren of mankind and earnestly pray of for their good, for their greatest good in the advancement of the interests of the kingdom of God upon earth. In thort, true piety, in all its parts, in all its acts, has a manifest tendency bns

tendency to firengthen every virtuous plinciple, to cherish every noble aim, to purify and elevate the soul, to encourage and to animate us in the path of our duty, and to lead us onward through every stage of life, to its concluding period, with serenity and hopels when esvisioned in one agbelword. The fleight of the product of t

I have done, Sir; and shall not take any further notice of the loofe and irreligious fneers which Mr HUME has not been afraid to throw out on a subject of the highest dignity, and of infinite importance. We have had enough of his confused ideas and fpeculations about superstition and enthusiafm. Rational and manly piety disclaims an affinity with both. They may indeed borrow her venerable name, and may difparage it in the eyes of those who are unacquainted with her native worth and heavenly original. But true wisdom will teach us to mark the great disparity, and to be on our guard against deceitful appearances. May this be the concern of the friends of religion; whilst at the same time they study to shew the mild, the pure, and and falutary influence of genuine piety, in an uniform worthy behaviour. Thus would its facred honours be retrieved, and its fentiments and dispositions be recommended to the esteem and love of all around them.—Piety, virtue, and sound knowledge are in themselves nearly allied; and they will ever produce the happiest effects when they are united in the minds of men.

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